University of Alberta

Personal Advertisements and Gender Identity in Modern Ukrainian Society

by

Oksana Babenko

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in

Applied Linguistics

Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 2005

0-494-09021-9

Library and Archives Canada

Published Heritage Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et Archives Canada

Direction du Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN:
Our file Notre reference
ISBN:

NOTICE:
The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:
L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

Abstract

This study analyzes Ukrainian on-line personal advertisements from the perspectives of gender- and sociolinguistics, exploring processes of shaping and enacting gender roles in modern Ukrainian society. On the basis of existing theoretical models on identity, gender, and language, a linguistic analysis of male and female postings is carried out to determine how gender identity is shaped by individual approaches to writing personal advertisements. The study evinces that, in the context of Ukrainian on-line postings, traditional gender roles and identity still predominate; however, a gradual shift toward more Western and egalitarian gender identity emerges also. The project seeks to establish main tendencies in offering the self and stipulating the desired other, as well as to explain these categories within the context of the current social, political, and economic transformations which are underway in the independent Ukrainian state.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my sincere words of appreciation to the following persons for their assistance during the preparation of this thesis: my supervisor Dr. Alla Nedashkivska for guidance, constructive and timely feedback, and thought-provoking discussions on the issues of gender, identity, and language; the committee members Dr. Terry Nadasdi and Dr. Heather Coleman for helpful comments and suggestions. This study was supported by the *Marusia and Michael Dorosh Master's Fellowship* from the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS), University of Alberta.

Special thanks are to my family in Kharkiv, Ukraine, and the Cooper family in Vermont, USA, for their support and encouragement during these years.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER1: Introduction	1
1.0 Gender, language, and identity	2
1.1 Gender, language, and identity in modern Ukrainian society	6
1.2 Literature overview	8
1.2.1 Language and gender	8
1.2.2 Scholarship on personal advertisements	9
CHAPTER 2: Personal advertisements and gender identity in modern Ukrainian society	16
2.1 Searching for gender identity in Ukraine	16
2.2 Methodology	17
2.2.1 Internet as a source of data	17
2.2.2 Data under investigation	19
2.2.3 Coding procedure	21
2.3 Hypotheses	23
2.3.1 Traditional gender roles in Ukrainian society	23
2.3.2 Articulation of emotional attractiveness	25
CHAPTER 3: Analysis and results	28
3.0 Introduction	28
3.1 Intragender analysis: female authors	29
3.1.1 Self-presentation	29
3.1.2 Stipulation of the desired partner	49
3.2 Intragender analysis: male authors	66
3.2.1 Self-presentation	67
3.2.2 Stipulation of the desired partner	82
CHAPTER 4: Discussion and conclusion	101
4.0 General discussion	101
4.1 Conclusion	111
BIBLIOGRAPHY	115
APPENDICES	122
Appendix 1	122

List of Tables

Table	Name	Page
1a	Females' self-presentation, %	30
1b	Females' self-presentation and stipulation of the desired male partner, %	31
2	Females' self-presentation break-down, %	33
3	Females' physical qualities, %	37
4	Females' financial/social status, %	39
5a	Females' emotional attractiveness, %	42
5b	Females' personal vs. interpersonal traits, %	44
6	Females' intellectual qualities, %	47
7	Females' stipulation of the desired male partner, %	49
8	Male partner's stipulation break-down, %	51
9	Male partner's physical qualities stipulated by females, %	54
10	Male partner's financial/social status stipulated by females, %	57
11a	Male partner's emotional attractiveness stipulated by females, %	60
11b	Male partner's personal vs. interpersonal traits, %	62
12	Male partner's intellectual qualities stipulated by females, %	64
13	Males' self-presentation, %	67
14	Males' self-presentation break-down, %	70
15	Males' physical qualities, %	72
16	Males' financial/social status, %	74
17a	Males' emotional attractiveness, %	77
17b	Males' personal vs. interpersonal traits, %	78
18	Males' intellectual qualities, %	80
19	Males' stipulation of the desired female partner, %	82
20	Female partner's stipulation break-down, %	86
21	Female partner's physical qualities stipulated by males, %	88
22	Female partner's financial/social status stipulated by males, %	92
23a	Female partner's emotional attractiveness stipulated by males, %	96
23b	Female partner's personal vs. interpersonal traits, %	98
24	Female partner's intellectual qualities stipulated by males, %	99

List of Graphs

Graph	Name	Page
1a	Females' self-presentation	31
1b	Females' self-presentation and stipulation of the desired male partner	32
2	Females' self-presentation break-down	35
3	Females' physical qualities	37
4	Females' financial/social status	40
5a	Females' emotional attractiveness	43
5b	Females' personal vs. interpersonal traits	45
6	Females' intellectual qualities	48
7	Females' stipulation of the desired male partner	50
8	Male partner's stipulation break-down	52
9a	Male partner's physical qualities stipulated by females	55
9b	Females' offers and stipulations of the male partner's physical qualities	56
10a	Male partner's financial/social status stipulated by females	58
10b	Females' offers and stipulations of the male partner's financial/social status	59
11a	Male partner's emotional attractiveness stipulated by females	61
11b	Male partner's personal vs. interpersonal traits	62
11c	Females' offers and stipulations of personal vs. interpersonal traits	63
12a	Male partner's intellectual qualities stipulated by females	64
12b	Females' offers and stipulations of intellectual qualities	65
13	Males' self-presentation	68
14	Males' self-presentation break-down	71
15	Males' physical qualities	73
16	Males' financial/social status	75
17a	Males' emotional attractiveness	77
17b	Males' personal vs. interpersonal traits	78
18	Males' intellectual qualities	80
19a	Males' stipulation of the desired female partner	83

19b	Males' self-presentation and stipulation of the desired female partner	84
20a	Female partner's stipulation break-down	87
20b	Males' offers and stipulations of the female partner	88
21a	Female partner's physical qualities stipulated by males	89
21b	Males' offers and stipulations of the female partner's physical qualities	91
22a	Female partner's financial/social status stipulated by males	93
22b	Males' offers and stipulations of the female partner's financial/social status	95
23a	Female partner's emotional attractiveness stipulated by males	97
23b	Female partner's personal vs. interpersonal traits	98
23c	Males' offers and stipulations of the female partner's emotional attractiveness	99
24a	Female partner's intellectual qualities stipulated by males	100
24b	Males' offers and stipulations of the female partner's intellectual qualities	100
25	Females' and males' self-presentation break-down	104
26	Females' and males' physical qualities	105
27	Females' and males' financial/social status	106
28	Females' and males' personal vs. interpersonal traits	107
29	Females' and males' stipulation of the desired partner break-down	108
30	Females' and males' stipulation of the desired partner's physical qualities	109
31	Females' and males' stipulation of the desired partner's financial/social status	110
32	Females' and males' stipulation of the desired partner's personal vs. interpersonal traits	111

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study aims to explore the main tendencies in the shaping and enacting of gender roles in modern Ukrainian society by analyzing on-line personal advertisements from the perspectives of gender- and sociolinguistics. The chief interest in analyzing the genre of personal ads is to study larger issues of gender identity, in particular, effects of socio-cultural dominance on the construction of both individual and group identities.

The main consideration is that a personal advertisement is a highly interactive text. On the one hand, it contains much in terms of the personal investment of the individual advertiser, and on the other hand, his or her hopes, wishes and desires for the ideal partner. The linguistic expression of these categories is highly influenced by socio-historical norms and practices, traditional beliefs, and values, as well as stereotypes and roles as they are presented in the mass media and widely articulated in the socio-political discourse. In the course of the study, major categories of gender identity and gender roles are to be identified, taking into account the peculiar nature of modern Ukrainian society, as well as joint effects of the current socio-cultural and economic situation in the country.

1.0 Gender, language, and identity

The notion of *identity* has been frequently used in the social sciences, and has been defined in many ways varying from one discipline to another (Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002: 6). Its various forms such as ethnic identity, language identity, culture identity, gender identity among others, are of great interest to academic endeavors in transitional societies, and Ukrainian society in particular.

Gee observes that "some people … tend to reserve the term 'identity' for a sense of self that is relatively continuous and 'fixed' over time" (Gee 1999: 39). Ivanic agrees that, on the one hand, "'identity' is a useful term, since it is the everyday word for people's sense of who they are" (Ivanic 1998: 11). On the other hand, she does not support the idea of its singularity, calling it "misleadingly singular":

> The plural word 'identities' is sometimes better, because it captures the idea of people identifying simultaneously with a variety of social groups. One or more of these identities may be foregrounded at different times; they are sometimes contradictory, sometimes interrelated: people's diverse identities constitute the richness and dilemmas of their sense of self (Ivanic 1998: 11).

Giddens conceptualizes identity as a series of choices one continually makes about oneself and one's lifestyle, thus, as a process or a continuum, rather than a state or a set of personal attributes (cited in Jaworski and Coupland 1999). Litosseliti and Sunderland add to Giddens' definition stating that "identity is also shaped by the attributions or ascriptions made by others" (Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002: 7).

Accordingly, "the emergence and re-emergence of the self" make identities fluid, and never complete (Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 412-413).

Gender has also become an important notion in scholarly discourse. According to Laada Bilaniuk, "[Gender] refers to the embodied social and cultural ideologies of how biological sex should be manifested" (Bilaniuk 2003: 48). The constituents of gender identity are gender roles, which are shaped and enacted by society and its members on the basis of biological sex. Gender construction, similarly to identity, is a continuum - it varies not only from one culture to another, but over time and within a society itself, as well as in relation to the other gender (Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 413).

The notion of gender identity can be illustrated metaphorically as 'a two-way street'; that is:

- firstly, it involves dynamic '*traffic*' in both directions, i.e., it is shaped and expressed through verbal and non-verbal interactive communication of men and women;
- secondly, it is generated and maintained by both genders (who are participants of this 'traffic') on a daily basis interaction;
- thirdly, it has its own laws and rules, which are established by society and differ from culture to culture; what is culturally permissible, for instance, in one society is not necessarily acceptable in another;

- fourthly, the participants in such 'communicative traffic' are not insured against any 'traffic jams/accidents', that is, of misunderstandings and misrepresentations, which bear a potential to grow into gender stereotypes.

Initial scholarly discourse on gender identity began with the definition of essential identities, such as 'woman' and 'man', which have been challenged, or de-centered. Only recently have scholars begun to talk about the multiplicity of gender identities: "different femininities and masculinities, evident across populations and cultural contexts, but also within individuals" (Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002: 7). Johnson characterizes masculinity and femininity as "on-going social processes dependent upon systematic restatement", noting that this is sometimes referred to as "doing identity work" (Johnson 1997: 22).

One of many available means by which gender identity is shaped and expressed in society is *language,* with its pivotal power to name symbolically what does and does not exist in that society. According to Spender (1984), by naming, people recognize the existence of certain phenomena, and vise versa; by not naming something, people deny that these phenomena matter or exist at all. That is, one of many ways to trace gender identity is by means of linguistic analysis of verbal communication of men and women, in which they establish and enact their own and other individuals' gender roles.

The question of gender and language has been enjoying much attention, especially in Western scholarship (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992a, 1992b;

Lakoff 1975; Haas 1979; Brown 1980; Trudgill 1974, etc.). A great deal of sociolinguistic research, new methodologies, and frameworks have appeared in the recent years. William Labov has been credited for his pioneering approach, demonstrating gender differences and contextual variation in the speech of men and women (Labov 1972). Earlier research analyzed the use of phonological or grammatical variables (as reviewed in Coates 1998), attitudes and language/dialect choices in multilingual/multidialectal contexts (e.g. Gal 1992, 1994; Wodak 1997).

In recent approaches to language and gender, Cameron (1998) argues that whereas Deborah Tannen (1990) considers that men and women simply misunderstand each others' intentions, and have different speech styles which lead to breakdowns in conversation, in fact, the conflict between men and women is one of social inequality and differential access to resources and goods within the public sphere (as cited in Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002: 82). Gender scholarship has moved away from drawing simple correlations between males and power and females and powerlessness on the basis of their linguistic behaviors and habits. Recent analyses focus on community-based perspective on gender and language with the emphasis on the context, setting, and participants. As Mills points out, "theorists in gender and language research cannot continue to discuss gender simply in terms of the differential linguistic behavior of males and females as groups; ... [but they] need to be able to analyze the various strategies, which gendered, raced and classed women and men adopt in particular circumstances and with particular goals and interests" (Mills 1999: 6).

A new discourse approach to gender and language aims to accommodate ideas of individual agency, and of gender as multiple, fluctuating, and shaped in part by language. Sunderland and Litosseliti note that "this understanding and approach crucially represent gender as variable, but, equally crucially, as both social and individual" (Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002: 6). They go further suggesting that "discourse analysis of particular spoken and written texts can illuminate the range of ways in which gender identities are represented and constructed, performed and indexed, interpreted and contested" (Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002: 31). A new trend to study gender and language from a cross-cultural perspective has recently won the attention of scholars, who seek to establish whether and how gender and language are culturally dependent.

1.1 Gender, language, and identity in modern Ukrainian society

With respect to Slavic gender linguistics, a few publications on the Czech, Polish, and Russian languages have appeared in recent years (Mills 1999; Yokoyama 1999; Kirilina 1999, 2000; van Leeuwen-Turnovcova et al. 2002). A similar situation is observed in Ukrainian gender linguistics, which is a relatively new discipline in the Ukrainian academic world, and therefore, represents immense possibilities for research. Nevertheless, the following scholars have already contributed to the establishment and further development of Ukrainian gender linguistics – Dmytrieva (2001, 2002), Nedashkivska (2002a, 2002b), Pischikova (2002), Bilaniuk (2003).

Dmytrieva (2001, 2002) draws her data from various dictionaries and concentrates on patriarchal stereotypes, encoded in the notions of *zhinka* 'woman', *cholovik* 'man', and *liudyna* 'person' (cited in Nedashkivska 2002a). Bilaniuk (2003) focuses her analysis on gender differences in language ideologies and attitudes. She considers how differences in possibilities for social power and advancement, which are linked to language use, lead men and women to benefit from different strategies in using and valuing language. She shows that, while sociocultural and political/economic forces interact with each other in some cases, in others they are in contradiction, with individual economic motives prevailing over cultural paradigms of traditionalism (Bilaniuk 2003: 48). In her article 'Communicating with the Press: Genderlects in Ukrainian', Nedashkivska analyzes communication in the Ukrainian press from the perspective of gender linguistics, determining differences and similarities between the language of females and males. Her study shows that "women mark their language with a *'female genderlect'* if the category of '*closeness*' with an imagined other is prioritized, while linguistic output by males depends first on the assessment of the addressee's gender" (Nedashkivska 2002a: 99)[1]. Her conclusions are that

> "it is not language that is drastically different for males and females, but rather the speaker's propositions, associated with the referential portrait of {you}, that distinguishes – and becomes encapsulated in – the linguistic output. The choice of interactional style is not delineated by gender alone, but stems from cognitive perceptions that may, in fact, be different between men and women. Female and

[1] Nedashkivska (2002a) also provides a brief overview and bibliography of Ukrainian gender studies in other disciplines, as well as publications dealing with questions of gender in literature, anthropology, media, social sciences, etc. For a detailed summary of the development of gender studies and feminism in Ukrainian academia since 1991, see also Zhurzhenko (2001a; 2001b).

> male Ukrainian speakers prioritize propositions associated with the addressee differently" (Nedashkivska 2002a: 117).

Pishchikova explores the question of gender differences and intertextuality by comparing and analyzing strategic questioning techniques used by Ukrainian and American debaters (Pishchikova 2002). The present work aims to contribute to the field of Ukrainian gender linguistics by opening the discussion with respect to gender identity shaped by the language in Ukrainian personal advertisements on the Internet.

1.2 Literature overview

1.2.1 Language and gender

Earlier studies on language and gender are of a dichotomous nature (Lakoff 1975; Bodine 1975; Edelsky 1976, [1981] 1993; Kramer, Thorne, and Henley 1978; Brown 1980). In these studies, scholars argue that men's and women's linguistic strategies differ, reflecting men's power and women's powerlessness not only in the discourse context, but in society in general. They associate female speakers with features that make assertions mild, avoiding conflict with listeners by the use of politeness formulas, double-sided arguments, expressions of uncertainty, and the use of certain vocabulary (for more information see Winn and Rubin 2001). More recent scholarship takes into consideration such variables as status, age, region, and education. Several empirical studies by Freimuth and Hornstein (1982), Kramarae (1990), Bem (1981, 1993), Cameron (1985) and some others have challenged the tradition of dichotomizing gender differences. These studies agree on the fact that

"because language use is socio-culturally conditioned, where gender differences do exist, they are more likely due to differences in gender role schemata than to biological sex" (cited in Winn and Rubin 2001: 397).

1.2.2 Scholarship on personal advertisements

For almost three decades, personal ads have been under investigation by social scientists, who consider them a potentially important source of insight into interpersonal relationships, particularly mating strategies (Lynn and Bolig 1985 cited in Strassberg and Holty 2002). Personal advertisements are considered as one way to determine what individuals want and what individuals believe others want in a partner. Researchers have examined requests for, and offers of, a number of variables, such as age and race (Epel, Spanakos, Kasl-Godley, and Brownell, 1996), physical attractiveness and weight (Deaux and Hanna, 1984; Hatala and Prehodka, 1996; Lynn and Shurgot, 1984), and personality traits, including masculinities and femininities (Bailey, Kim, Hills, and Linsenmeier, 1997; Deaux and Hanna, 1984).

Most studies have investigated personal advertisements placed by heterosexual men and women comparing gender patterns. A few studies have been conducted on personal advertisements of gays and lesbians (Laner 1979a, 1979b; Lee 1978). Researchers who have compared heterosexual and homosexual relationships have suggested that the primary difference between the two is gender (Bailey et al. 1997; Deaux and Hanna 1984). For example, researchers have found

that women place less emphasis on the appearance of a partner than men (Doosje, Rojhan, and Fischer 1999; Feingold 1992; Goodwin 1991; Nell and Ashton 1997), but offer their appearance depending on whom they are seeking as partners (Deaux and Hanna 1984; Siever 1994). Deaux and Hanna (1984) concluded that gender and sexual orientation interact.

Montini and Ovrebro (1990) have grouped all studies of personal ads into three major categories:

1) those which capture and typify the expressive strategies of the ad placers' self-presentation. Lee (1976, 1978) developed a typology of love styles relevant to gay men, and then coded gay personal ads in terms of his typology. Lumby's (1978) content analysis of personal ads placed by men in *The Advocate*, a gay publication, resulted in a set of descriptive advertiser profiles. Lynn and Shurgot (1984) coded the variables of advertisers' physical appearance and found that more responses were received by women than by men, and by persons providing positive self-descriptions.

2) those which test 'exchange theory' hypotheses. The exchange theory combines principles of behavioral psychology and economics. According to Cameron et al. (1977), its basic assumption is that "people try to maximize their profits in social relationships" (cited in Zhou and Abdulah 1995: 335). Through a content analysis of heterosexual ads, Cameron, Oskamp, and Sparks (1977) found that "the pattern of offers and requests waw similar to a 'stock market' in which stereotypical sex role characteristics were valued commodities" (cited in Montini and

Ovrebro 1990: 328). One of the general findings among scholars of this category is as follows:

> In long-term and short-term mating contexts, men, more than women, value a mate's youth and physical attractiveness; women, more than men, in contrast, value a mate's social status, ability to acquire resources, and willingness to share them (Okami and Shackelford 2001).

As Rajecki et al. point our further, from the perspective of social theories of mate preferences, some expectations are that women, who as a class are likely to be excluded from social power, would seek mates with access to such resources, and would offer their physical characteristics in return. Men would seek beauty in return for their power resources (Rajecki et al., 1991: 466)[2].

From the perspective of evolutionary theories of mate preferences, some expectations are that women, who naturally invest a lot in giving birth to a child, would seek mates who are able to ensure the survival of an offspring. Those male characteristics would be some form of material advantage. For their part, men would stipulate female beauty and youth to ensure reproductive success (Rajecki et al., 1991: 466).

In general, these studies underscore the presence of traditional gender-related characteristics, 'men as success objects and women as sex objects' (Davis 1990). These characteristics are both self-claimed and desired (Cameron et al. 1977; Baker 1982; Murty and Rao 1984; Peres and Meivar 1986; Hirschman 1987; Koestner and

[2] In the course of the research, I contacted Professor Rajecki (Purdue University, Indiana, USA), who gladly shared his methodological approach and coding techniques. The fact that his coding schema was developed exclusively for a pool of US personal advertisements made it impossible to apply and test it on the collected data of Ukrainian personal ads. Therefore, I developed my own list of coding keys [see Appendix 1].

Wheeler 1988; Davis 1990; Montini and Ovrebro 1990; Smith et al. 1990; Willis and Carlson 1993).

3) those which compare men's and women's personal ads. Based on a content analysis of personal ads, Harrison and Saed (1977) measured degree of self-disclosure and found that advertisers tend to seek partners whose level of social desirability closely approximated their own. They also found complementary, but gendered differences between what advertisers offered about themselves and what they sought in a prospective partner. Bollig, Stein, and McHenry's (1984) content analysis of personal ads of heterosexual men and women attempted to identify gendered patterns of exchange. Non-complementary gender differences were found. Sitton and Rippee's (1986) content analysis examined the level of self-disclosure. They found that men and women disclose information at the same rate. However, women stipulate financial security and marriage more often than men. Finally, Deaux and Hanna (1984) reported an analysis of personal ads using equal samples of men and women, heterosexuals and homosexuals. They found that interaction between gender and sexual orientation is associated with certain patterns of stated attributes and preferences (cited in Montini and Ovrebro 1990: 328-9).

Justine Coupland (2000) adopts a different perspective. In her view, dating ads are a revealing site for analyzing age-identity negotiations. Through a distributional survey and qualitative analyses of older people's ads, her study shows how advertisers respond to and negotiate normative constraints on their

communicative task in this genre and how older advertisers formulate aspects of their age identity in a genre traditionally associated with younger users.

With respect to longitudinal studies of personal ads, only one was found in the course of literature review. In their study, Zhou and Abdulah (1995) analyzed heterosexual personal advertisements published between 1979 and 1994 in the *Globe and Mail,* a major daily newspaper in Canada. Their intent was to determine what attributes the advertisers considered to be important to initiate serious relations through personal ads columns. They expected that difference between personal ads placed by men and by women in 1994 should be lesser than in the past, or that these ads may even look the same. Their argument for such a hypothesis was due to the emergence of the women's movement in the 1960's, which has improved women's socio-economic status in Canada. Nevertheless, their findings support the above-mentioned 'exchange theory', that is, older and more occupationally established men and younger and less financially secure women are attracted to each other. Longitudinally, attributes used in the advertisements were relatively stable and consistent (Zhou and Abdulah 1995).

The study by Montini and Ovrebro (1990) also draws attention by the novelty of its perspective. The authors conceptualized personal ads as indicators of action and process, as a symbolic dialogue between the ad placer and an imagined reader. These scholars looked, firstly, for referents to ad placers' biographies as reflected in the linguistic strategies they had employed to share their past experiences. Secondly, they looked for the indications of possible decisions that ad placers would have to

make regarding ad respondents. Finally, they sought evidence of how placers dealt with the emotional risks of the relationship-seeking process. The results of the coding process yielded four major categories: Up Front, Con-Avoidance, Presentation of Self as Unique, and Appeal to Fate, which are described and illustrated by actual examples (see Montini and Ovrebro 1990: 330-333).

Due to the relatively short history of the Internet, personal ads in earlier analyses were limited to those in the published media. Only recently scholars began to look at e-personals (Matthews 1999; Smith and Stillman, 2002; Strassberg and Holty, 2003). In his research of e-personals, Matthews (1999) studied only two variables - gender and age of ad writers and their preferred partners. Matthews found that heterosexual women sought men older than themselves, while heterosexual men sought women younger than themselves.

Strassberg and Holty (2003), using an experimental design, examined the impact of a brief, systematic, manipulation of 'female seeking male' Internet personal ads on the quantity and quality of responses to these ads. Contrary to the researchers' predictions, the most popular personal advertisement was one in which the woman described herself as "financially independent...successful [and] ambitious", producing over 50 % more responses than the next most popular ad, one in which the woman described herself as "lovely ... very attractive and slim" (Strassberg and Holty, 2003).

Most of the mentioned studies have been conducted predominantly in the United States. An examination of literature reveals only a few publications on

personal advertising in other countries and in other cultural contexts. These are: Harrison and Saeed (1977), Devis (1990), Zhou and Abdulah (1995) content-analyzed personal advertisements from Canadian tabloids; Shalom (1997) in Great Britain; Murty and Ranga Rao (1984) in South India; Peres and Meivar (1986) in Israel; Erfurt (1985) in Germany; Gil-Burmann, Pelaez and Sanchez (2002) in Spaine; Basyliev (2000) in Russia. To the best of my knowledge, there has been only one similar, though rather brief, study of personal advertisements conducted by Anna Osypchuk in post-Soviet Ukraine (Osypchuk 2004). In her study, she analyzes stereotypical features used by males and females in their personal ads to describe and compose 'ideal' portraits of the desired other and the self. In addition, Osypchuk carried out an analysis in which a variable of ad placers' age was considered, and looked at divergences as displayed in personal ads by various age groups and as to a desired age difference between the self and the desired partner.

The present study cannot address all the aspects and issues discussed in each and every mentioned study. Nevertheless, the project attempts to explore gender identity and gender roles, in particular, in post-Soviet Ukrainian society, as they are shaped and enacted by means of language within the context of personal advertisements.

CHAPTER 2: PERSONAL ADVERTISEMENTS AND GENDER IDENTITY IN MODERN UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

2.1 Searching for gender identity in Ukraine

In order to place this linguistic study in the context of modern Ukrainian society, a brief overview of the gender situation in post-Soviet Ukraine is necessary. Apart from the peculiar linguistic situation, post-Soviet Ukraine represents a unique geo-political, economic and socio-cultural case. Ukrainian society is in a continuous search for identity on several levels – national, ethnic, linguistic, social and gender identity. This search is reflected in political movements and business advertising, the mass media and press, cultural events, and other societal domains. Ukraine is moving along the path toward what are generally defined as the free market and democratic institutions. Members of Ukrainian society, being exposed to various Western influences and national movements (to which 'openness' and the fall of the 'Iron Curtain' have contributed), absorb these trends and shape certain models of gender roles. In their view, these gender roles should be attributed to men and women, in accordance with which they are supposed to act and interact with each other.

The peculiar nature of the Ukrainian society has been of interest to many scholars (Ahejeva and Oksamytna, 2001; Arel 1993; Bilaniuk 1997a, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b, 2003; Pavlychko 1996; Petrenko, Isaiev and Petrenko, 1999; Pomazan 1999; Riabchuk 2000a, 2000b, 2003; Rubchak 1996, 2001; Serbens'ka 1994; Smoliar 2002; Sukovata 2002; Taran 2001; Zhurzhenko 2001a, 2001b, among others). Many

of their studies have had a broad social orientation ranging from census issues and national identity to questions of mass media and cultural identity.

Also of interest is the *Gender Analysis of Ukrainian Society* (1999, cited in Nedashkivska 2002a: 98), published by the United Nations Development Program. Through statistical data and analysis, it reports on certain post-Soviet trends currently emerging in Ukrainian society. These are:

- revitalization of traditional masculine values and devaluation of the women's role;
- clear-cut polarization of genders;
- prevalence of traditional beliefs and stereotypes in society.

Although the fact that Ukraine has taken a direction toward building a democratic state and society in which all its members are guaranteed equal rights and opportunities regardless of their biological sex, traditional masculine values and stereotypical women's roles are widely articulated in Ukrainian political discourse, the mass media and press, business advertising and job market (see Sukovata 2002; Kis' 2002; Rubchak 1996, 2001; Zhurzhenko 2001).

2.2 Methodology

2.2.1 Internet as a source of data

In recent years, the Internet has become more available in Ukraine and has been used as an important tool for business handling, e-communication, information search, and entertainment. New opportunities have arisen not only for business

enterprises, but also for ordinary citizens, men and women, who can 'settle' their private life either by seeking a partner and/or 'advertising' him/herself on a dating web-site. Realizing that the successfulness of his/her personal ad, and thus, a possible relationship, largely depends on the message encoded in it, the author chooses only those linguistic strategies which would portray him-/herself at best, and would also convey the fullest portrait of the desired other. Both the author and the perceived partner are in dialogical relations and bid for certain gender roles.

Based on my research, I argue that Internet personal ads bear much more potential and have more advantages both for the author and his/her imaginary partner:

- e-personals are not restricted in space as those in newspapers and magazines;
- e-personals are not edited by a third person, which might be the case with printed personals;
- by the use of the first person singular I *'Ia'* instead of the third person, which is characteristic of printed classifieds (ex., *'Cholovik, 32, shukaie zhinku...'* Male, 32, seeks a woman...), the e-personal author chooses to present himself/herself as an individual, rather than a commodity or product, which is the case with business advertising to sell/buy a house, car, etc.

Thus, Internet 'lonely heart' ads are more 'personalized', and can say much more about the author, his/her views, values, and what kind of ideal partner is the most desired.

With respect to some other advantages of Internet personals, they:

- are normally free or relatively inexpensive;
- reach a wider/larger audience, that is, not only region- and country-wide, but even world-wide;
- allow for pictures and e-net chat;
- provide greater anonymity (i.e., in most cases, only e-mail addresses need to be exchanged). Such a degree of anonymity allows the author to express his/her own personal views with no fear of loosing face, and to be candid in terms of what one has to offer, what one wants and what may be unacceptable. In contrast, in a face-to-face meeting, some initial reticence is required.

2.2.2 Data under investigation

A total of 240 personal ads (120 male and 120 female) have been analyzed for the purposes of this study. All the ads were collected from one Ukrainian dating web-site www.12kisses.com over the course of six months (January – June 2004). Men and women post their messages on this web-site free of charge.[3]

To my knowledge, this web-site has no explicitly stated rules as to the size and composition of a posted ad. This fact eliminates any concern as to possible restriction for authors regarding content, organization and size of his/her writing.

[3] On the other hand, the Internet services are still rather expensive in Ukraine (Polyuha 2005). It may lead to a conclusion that mostly Ukrainians with higher income can afford to post e-personal advertisements, as well as establish and maintain subsequent communication with potential partners.

Moreover, the presence of grammatical mistakes and typing errors serve as indicators that posted messages have not been edited by a third person, as might be the case with published personal advertisements.

Each posting consists of an original message, preceded by a table, which contains information on the author's physical qualities (such as height, weight, eye and hair colors). Depending on the author's biological sex, women and men make use of this table seemingly in different ways. Having filled in the table, the male authors tend not to include this information in the body of their messages, while female writers chose to emphasize and recast their physical appearance once again in the actual posting (see below for a detailed discussion). Moreover, in the table, the author has options to specify his/her marital status, children, job/occupation, level of education, horoscope sign, and place of origin.

The age of the ad placers has been limited to 18 - 40 years, with the average of 28 - 29. Only those ads in which advertisers are searching for 'long-term serious relationship partners', as opposed to 'e-communication' and 'sexual partners', have been selected. Non-heterosexual personal ads, i.e., not falling into the categories 'a man looking for a woman' and 'a woman looking for a man' have been excluded from the present analysis.

The variable of educational status was taken into consideration as well. In the selected postings, all the authors claimed either to have higher education or to be a student at a higher educational establishment in Ukraine.

2.2.3 Coding procedure

Various studies on personal advertisements offer different ways of coding or specifying categories of attributes offered by the author and stipulated for the desired other. A number of studies use the explicit term "attractiveness", but they do not define its scope beyond lists of words to be found in ads (Bollig et al. 1984; Harrison and Saeed 1977; Koestner and Wheeler 1988). Other scholars use the term "appearance" to cover the dimension of physical characteristics (Cameron et al. 1977; Lynn and Shurgot 1984; Peres and Meivar 1986), while still others code them as "sexuality" (Deaux and Hanna 1984) or "physical status" (Hirschman 1987). Moreover, criteria for attractiveness are known to vary across cultures (Ford and Beach, 1951). Within Western society such criteria have changed over centuries (Polivy, Garner, and Garfinkel, 1986) and even over recent decades (Garner, Garfinkel, Schwarts, and Thompson, 1980; Silverstein, Perdue, Peterson, and Kelly, 1986). The same holds true for modern Ukrainian society. Moreover, different criteria for attractiveness are also applied to people within their life span (Hatfield and Sprecher 1986). In the mentioned studies, similar methods are also applied when social resources and personal qualities are discussed.

In the present study, the solution to this procedural ambiguity was to liberalize the creation of lists of terms to be used while coding the collected personal ads. That is, any term in the current set of ads that could reasonably refer to physical qualities, financial/social status, and emotional attractiveness (personal traits and interpersonal qualities) was included in those respective coding schemes.

Four coding categories were developed[4], based on the present set of data and with reference to previous studies. They are:

- physical qualities (appearance; age[5]; height; weight/figure)
- financial/social status (occupation / job / field and/or place of employment[6]; education; economic status and assets status)
- emotional attractiveness (personal traits; interpersonal traits)
- intellectual qualities.

In the process of content analysis, each personal advertisement was broken into its constituents, which were then classified under the four coding categories respectively (see Appendix 1). Where a constituent could not be placed into any of the major categories, it was classified as 'Not mentioned' or 'Other'. The coding process did not pose any serious problems, since the main categories included clearly defined subcategories.

For the purposes of this study, two databases have been created in Microsoft Access, one for the female writers and the other for the male writers. It allowed creating various types of queries, comparing results, and then presenting them in the form of tables and charts, using Microsoft Excel.

---

[4] In future research, it is interesting to examine other categories, such as 'hobbies and interests', 'marital status and children', 'stipulation of language', 'religion', etc, which, due to the framework of the present study, have been left out.

[5] In the present research, the subcategory of 'age' is studied within the category of 'physical qualities'. It is necessary to note that an author's choice to include his/her age in the initial posting can be indicative of his/her social status, as well as emotional and intellectual traits associated with age.

[6] A short form 'occupation/job' is to be used for the category of occupation / job / field and/or place of employment throughout the study including tables and graphs (see Appendix 1 for specific examples of key attributes).

2.3 Hypotheses

This section highlights two hypotheses, which are tested in chapter three. Rather than generating more hypotheses, I adopt an approach of analyzing the statistical results, attempting to find grounded explanations of the findings. As shown below, in certain cases, I abstain from drawing general conclusions, since more extensive research is needed in order to support or disapprove my findings and explanations I attribute to them.

2.3.1 Traditional gender roles in Ukrainian society

Based on the findings of the *Gender Analysis of Ukrainian Society* (1999) that traditional beliefs and stereotypes prevail in the majority of public and private domains of modern Ukrainian society, it may be expected that traditional sex roles and gender-specific characteristics will be also reflected in the context of personal ads. In other words, it may be hypothesized that the characteristics which are claimed for the self and desired in the ideal partner, would tend to be those, which are frequently valued as gender-specific in contemporary Ukrainian society. These characteristics would be physical qualities for women and social status (income, occupational prestige, education) for men. All this may lead to an assumption that, in their self-portraits, the female writers would emphasize, first of all, their physical qualities, such as appearance and age. As to the male ad placers, they would tend to

portray themselves on the background of their socio-financial status, since, in their view, these qualities and resources are the most desired by the opposite sex. Moreover, based on social exchange perspectives (Humphreys and Berger 1981)[7], it may be expected that personal advertisers would emphasize socially desirable physical qualities and positive character traits, while negative ones would be minimized, or even not included at all.

Of interest is one of the findings by Zhou and Abdulah, who studied Canadian personal ads longitudinally between 1979 and 1994. They found that the advertisers as a whole more frequently offered information on their financial status in 1989, when the economy was expanding, than, for instance, in 1994, when the Canadian economy was in recession. Moreover, during 1994, advertisers tended to seek partners with more prestigious professions/occupations or those who were financially secure (Zhou and Abdulah 1995: 341). Taking into account the present unstable socio-economic situation in Ukraine, which makes Ukrainian women insecure and unprotected as a social group, the female authors may be expected to desire a male partner either with a high income, or prestigious occupation/education and intellect, with qualities that bear a potential of socio-economic growth and/or advancement. As a part of self-description, the female authors would tend to offer their physical qualities in exchange for men's socio-economic status and assets.

---

[7] For detailed information on the exchange theory, see Hirschman (1987), who examines personal advertisements as examples of complex, heterogeneous marketing exchange, and Cameron et al. (1977), who investigate newspaper ads for dating in terms of the bargaining process involved.

Since men have been viewed as bread-winners and family providers in Ukrainian culture, the male authors, in their self-portrait, may be expected to first and foremost provide information on their social status and financial security (education, occupation/job, economic status and assets, etc.). In their view, such information would be highly desired by potential female partners, and by providing such indicators, they would be able to secure success for their postings. Consequently, in exchange for their socio-economic status, the male authors would desire physical qualities, such as good appearance and youth, from their female partners.

2.3.2. Articulation of emotional attractiveness

Historically Ukrainian society and its members have been known for their favor and support of romantic love and feelings. In Rubchak (2001), who cites the works of Le Vasseur and de Beauplan (1993 [1660]), Denysiuk (1993), and Vovk (1995) among others, we can read that both a man and a woman could initiate marriage if partners found each other emotionally attractive. Their parents did not exercise too much power over their children's will, though a more favorable socio-financial status of a future husband/wife was, undoubtedly, an asset[8].

Therefore, the second hypothesis is that, across genders, emotional attractiveness and character features of the self and the desired partner would be

[8] This is compared with marital traditions, for example, in Indian society, where emotional attractiveness is not taken into consideration, while the partner's status is of primary importance.

most frequently articulated in the personal ads of Ukrainian men and women. In my pilot study of e-personal ads[9], this hypothesis was confirmed; that is, both female and male authors tend to articulate their own emotional attractiveness and that of the desired partner. Nevertheless, the term 'emotional attractiveness' is of broad spectrum. Therefore, in my present analysis, I differentiate between *personal traits* and *interpersonal qualities*. The former are those that describe the author's self or 'I', and include attributes such as *serioznyi* 'serious', *aktyvnyi* 'active', *enerhiinyi* 'full of energy', *optymistychnyi* 'optimistic', *vrivnovazhenyi* 'level-headed', etc. (for the complete list of personal traits, see Appendix 1[10]). The latter are those which describe a person in relation to somebody else or 'You', and include attributes such as *nadiinyi* 'reliable', *chesnyi* 'honest', *virnyi* 'loyal', *shanovlyvyi* 'respectful', *druzhnii, tovarys'kyi* 'friendly', *shchyryi* 'sincere', etc. (see Appendix 1).

Zhoh and Abdullah (1995) have found that, in comparison to men, women both offer and seek emotional attractiveness more often, using terms such as 'kind', 'loving', 'caring', etc. They explain this phenomenon as women's 'psychological needs' – needs for companionship and emotional support from the partner. In light of my study, such characteristics correspond to interpersonal qualities.

---

[9] The findings of the mentioned pilot study were presented as preliminary, since at that time the work was still in progress. The presentation of the results took place at the MLCS Graduate Conference '*From Pen to Innovation*', at the University of Alberta in March 2004; and at the Graduate Symposium *'Exploring Ukrainian Identity: Statehood, Language, and Gender'*, at the University of Toronto in March 2004.

[10] The list of categories and subcategories is in no way exhaustive. It comprises attributes elicited from the analyzed male and female personal ads. Note that some attributes can be perceived as belonging to more than one category, due to feature overlaps. In such cases, attributes were analyzed within the immediate context to minimize ambiguity.

In the present study, I hypothesize that both male and female authors may tend to articulate emotional attractiveness in the body of their postings. However, I expect females to articulate emotional attractiveness more often, than males. In addition, there may be a difference in the type of emotional traits, which are offered about the self and sought in the desired partner, that is, between personal traits and interpersonal qualities. Based on Stavytska's article (2003), in which she dwells on the rising phenomenon of loneliness of Ukrainian women, we may expect that the female authors are more likely to include the attributes of personal traits in their self-descriptions, while the attributes of interpersonal qualities are likely to dominate in their descriptions of the ideal male partner.

As for the male authors, at this point, it is difficult to make certain assumptions. Rather, I have decided not to formulate any preliminary hypotheses and rely on the results of my analysis.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

3.0 Introduction

The results of the data analysis for the developed categories and subcategories are organized and reported in the form of two intragender analyses of the male and female personal ads. Rather than to contrast the male ads with the female postings, and, thus, focus on the conservative idea of looking for differences and similarities in displaying and enacting one's gender, I adopt a notion of continuous construction of a range of masculinities and femininities within and across individuals of the same biological sex. That is, my attempt is to trace the existence of more than one femininity and masculinity in the context of Ukrainian e-personals. I go further and analyze a spectrum of traditional and modern, noting both dominant and prevailing, as well as those less articulated. In no case do I claim to establish clear boundaries between them; on the contrary, I contend that their boundaries could not be determined with great precision, since the very nature of identities is fluid and never complete.

When I discuss gender differences and similarities, my premise is to challenge existing 'givens' and the generalizability of empirical findings. As shown below, not all earlier generalizations on gender identities may be adopted for the context of Ukrainian personal advertisements.

Within each of the two analyses (one is conducted within a pool of female ads, while the other within a pool of male ads), I target my attention on the following points:

- firstly, I consider self-presentations, provided by the female and male authors respectively (*offered information*);
- secondly, I examine descriptions of the desired partner (*stipulated information*).

All results are presented and assigned percentage values in tables, which are accompanied by graphs. Where possible, I provide my own explanations of the findings, which I base on the current socio-political, economic, and cultural situation in Ukrainian society. It is my hope that further research on Ukrainian society in general and language and gender identity in the context of personal ads in particular will provide answers to those questions, which remain unanswered in this study.

3.1 Intragender analysis: female authors

3.1.1 Self-presentation

(i) Prior to the analysis of self-presentation aspects, which the female authors prefer to include in their initial postings, I need to determine the percentage loads of those female authors, who choose to offer their self-portraits to the perceived addressee, and those females, who choose to omit their self-descriptions from their initial messages.

As hypothesized, the female authors show a tendency to include information about *the self* in the body of their messages. In the analyzed texts, almost 80 % of all the female authors present themselves, while 20 % (that is, approximately every fifth female) prefer not to offer information on *the self* at all.

Table 1a. *Females' self-presentation, %*

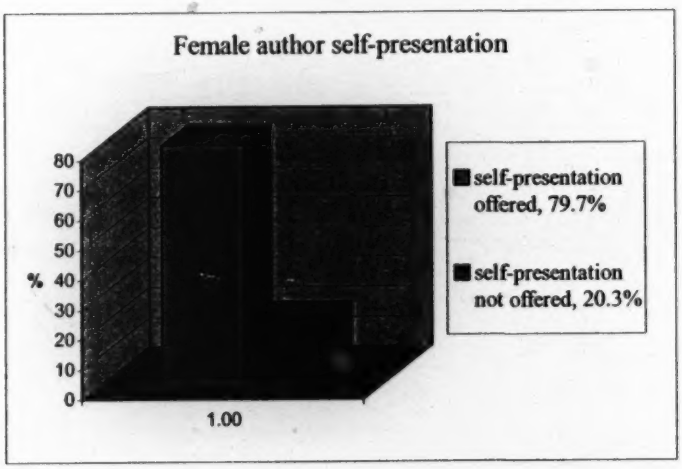
	Self-presentation offered, %	Self-presentation not offered, %
Female authors	79.7	20.3

The immediate explanation for this may be that those 20 % of the female authors who omit their self-presentations consider the self-presentation table (which precedes a posting) to be sufficient to initiate correspondence with potential partners. This reason sounds superficial, though. Another explanation for excluding self-presentation may be the focus on the desired partner, which is 'You'. By putting the main emphasis on 'You', females perceive it as a strategy to let the desired partner know that, in this case, it is *she*, who is in the position to choose, rather than to be chosen by a male.

As for those female authors who prefer to offer their self-descriptions, they may envision it as a pragmalinguistic technique to insure finding 'the right second half in life', which will match their personality with the personality of the desired partner as close as possible. In other words, the focus on 'I', expressed through the presentation of the self, is, in fact, an implicit focus on the desired partner or 'You', as well. In this case, the female author outlines her personality and qualities, that is,

her 'I', and then invites the perceived addressee, that is, 'You', to do self-exploration and 'matching work'.

Graph 1a. *Females' self-presentation*



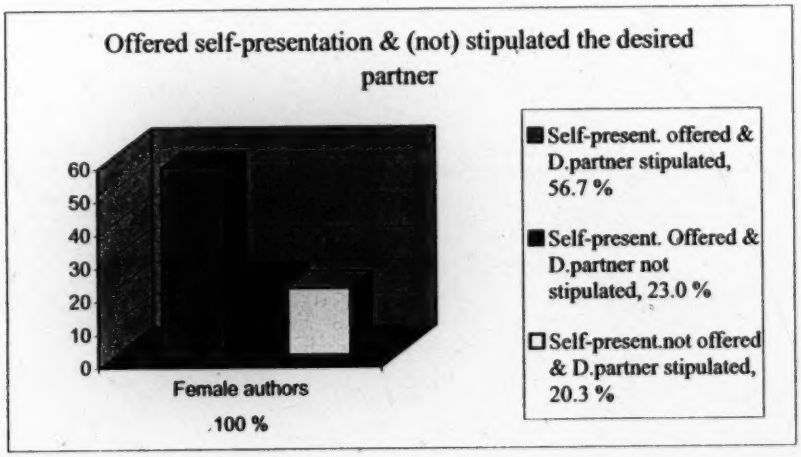
Although the analysis of the female authors' stipulations of the desired partner will be discussed below, I examine the following. Out of the 79.7 % of the female authors who choose to offer their self-descriptions, 56.7 % of them also include their stipulations of the desired other, while the remaining 23.0 % choose to omit this information; that is, they build their messages utterly on their own self-presentations. These results are presented in Table 1b:

Table 1b. *Females' self-presentation and stipulation of the desired male partner, %*

	Desired partner stipulated, %	Desired partner not stipulated, %
Self-presentation offered, 79.7 %	56.7	23.0

As the results suggest, 56.7 % of the female authors place their postings in a two-dimensional framework, that is, they include both the presentation of the self ('I'- focus) and stipulation of the desired partner ('You'- focus). That is, more than half of all the female authors do 'gender work' in the two-dimension system, while 23.0% of them 'work' in *'I'*-dimension, and the rest 20.3 % in *'you'*-dimension.

Graph 1b. *Females' self-presentation and stipulation of the desired male partner*



In the context of Ukrainian personal advertisements, the female authors show an inclination toward a qualitative focus in their messages (both *'I'* and *'you'* offered and stipulated). That is, they are concerned with the degree, to which *'I'* and *'you'*

would match the most. On the other hand, these female authors may risk receiving fewer initial replies from the potential male partners, since two sets of criteria are put forward: firstly, the potential partner must match the provided stipulation of *'you'*, and secondly, her presented *'I'* must appeal to the potential partner. In other words, these female authors are in the process of narrowing a pool of potential candidates.

(ii) Since one of my primary goals is to determine how personal ad authors display and articulate their gender, I continue my study by looking at those e-personals in which the female authors choose to offer their presentations of *the self*. The offered self-presentation information (79.7 %) is taken as 100 % and is further broken down into three categories – physical qualities, financial/social status, and emotional attractiveness. This allows us to find out which attributes, and thus, categories, are employed most frequently in female self-presentations. I hypothesize that, by showing preference toward a certain category or categories, the female authors consider them important in expressing their own gender identity. This procedure yields the following results:

***Table 2.** Females' self-presentation break-down, %*

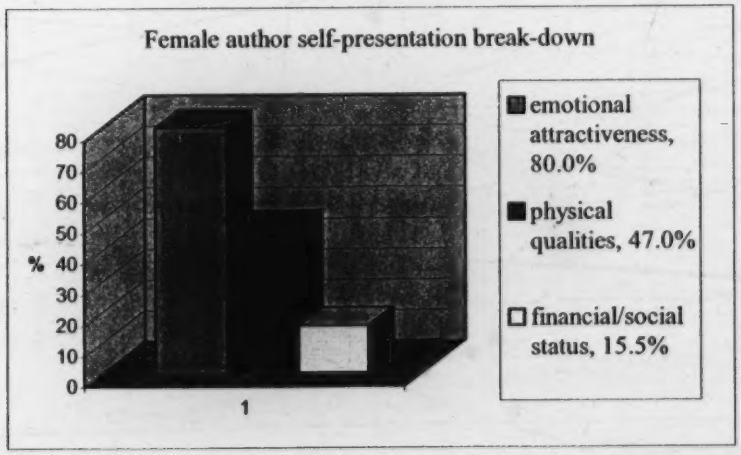
	Emotional attractiveness, %	Physical qualities, %	Financial/Social status, %
Female authors	80.0	47.0	15.5

Based on earlier studies of personal ads, which overwhelmingly state that female authors tend to provide first and foremost their physical qualities, I expected to arrive at similar results in my study of Ukrainian personal ads. Contrary to my predictions and expectations, the Ukrainian female authors display a tendency to provide, first of all, the attributes of their emotional attractiveness (80.0 %), and only then followed by their physical qualities (47.0 %). As hypothesized, few female authors choose to offer any information on their own financial/social status (15.5 %), which does echo with the findings of the earlier studies of personal ads. In other words, these findings seem to be limited neither by time (similar findings are reported in 70-90's), nor confined to a certain country (for example, in research of Canadian, American, and British personal ads). Nevertheless, my findings are not as clear-cut as it might appear at first glance. As seen from the reported results in Table 2, many female authors do not limit their self-presentations to one category, but rather tend to provide more facets/aspects of it by including attributes from several categories. In my data, the preferred combination of attributes is that of emotional attractiveness together with attributes of physical qualities.

By choosing to place the main emphasis on their emotional attractiveness, the Ukrainian female authors perceive it to be one of the most important aspects of their gender identity, and the most desired by Ukrainian men. As a possible explanation of this finding, I suggest the following. My data consist of those personal ads in which the authors are looking only for serious and long-term relations (such as, to create a family through marriage). That is why, in this particular context, one's own

emotional attractiveness is perceived to be much more important in the family creation process, than one's own appearance or financial/social status. This phenomenon is also tied to the fact that there has been an unstable socio-economic situation in modern Ukrainian society, which makes both men and women rather socially vulnerable and unprotected. This may be one of the reasons why the female authors disclose their emotional attractiveness in order to let the perceived addressee know that, in her as a partner, he would find a solid support no matter what the current socio-economic situation is. The widely articulated image of the pagan goddess '*Berehynia'* ('Protectoress'), who is considered to be a treasurer of high social values and to possess such qualities of emotional attractiveness as sincerity, kindness, and reliability, has been widely articulated in the Ukrainian public discourse as a model of the ideal Ukrainian woman (Kis' 2002, Zhurzhenko 2001). My data show that this image has found its reflection in and echoes with the majority of the female personal advertisements.

Graph 2. ***Females' self-presentation break-down***



Comparing the percentage of offerings of physical qualities (47.0%) to that of financial/social status (15.5 %), it is evident that the female authors perceive their appearance to be a more important asset/aspect in the whole picture of their gender identity, than, for example, their education, job, or economic status. Although Ukraine has gone far in educating females and providing employment to women, their present socio-economic situation remains difficult, while, on the other hand, nature has taken care of them and provided them with certain physical qualities. Moreover, in Ukrainian society, woman's appearance and homemaking skills have been valued greatly, and thus, are articulated much more widely, than her successfulness in academic and/or professional life[11]. Therefore, the category of physical qualities scores higher, than the category of financial/social status in the female postings.

(iii) In my methodology, I have specified that the category of physical qualities comprises the following subcategories - appearance, weight/figure, age, and height. Subsequently, a further breakdown of the physical qualities, offered by the female authors in their postings (47.0 % is considered as 100 % for the purposes of the present analysis), yields the following results, which are presented in Table 3:

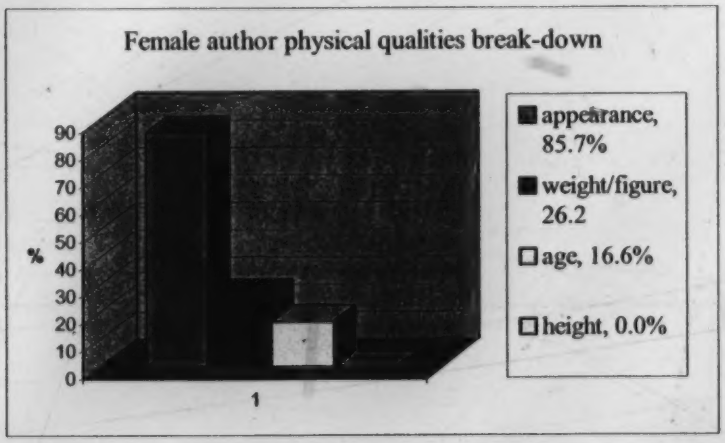
[11] For example, in their articles, Kis' (2002) and Zhurzhenko (2001) discuss in great detail various images of females, which are currently articulated in the Ukrainian mass media and socio-political discourse, such as Berehynia, Barbie, Business-woman, Feminist, etc. These scholars attempt to explain why the images of Berehynia and Barbie have become widely popular among Ukrainian women, while the images of Business-woman and Feminist have been viewed as stigmatized. If the Feminist image has been presented to Soviet and post-Soviet women in a distorted form of 'a men-hater' in the public discourse, for the image of Business-woman, there have not been adequate political, economic, and socio-cultural conditions for Ukrainian women to successfully adopt this image.

Table 3. *Females' physical qualities, %*

	Appearance, %	Weight/Figure, %	Age, %	Height, %
Female authors	85.7	26.2	16.6	0.0

As seen from the findings, the attributes of appearance (see the list of such attributes in Appendix 1) carry the greatest percentage load (85.7 %) out of all physical qualities. These are followed by attributes of weight/figure (26.2 %), and age (16.6 %) to a considerably less degree. Not a single attribute of the offered height (0.0 %) has been provided in the collected data of the female personal ads[12]. In addition, many female authors choose to include in their self-presentations attributes from more than one subcategory. For example, the attributes of appearance together with the attributes of weight/figure, and to a less degree, with the attributes of age.

Graph 3. *Females' physical qualities*



[12] In their study of Canadian personal advertisements, Zhou and Abdullah (1995) reported that 6.0 % of females and 17.0 % of males chose to include references to their own height in their initial postings.

As a possible explanation of why the female authors show a preference toward the attributes of appearance, I would suggest the following. Firstly, the female authors may tend to stay away from the 'dry language' of numbers, and tend to use more descriptive attributes, such as, *krasyva* 'pretty', *sympatychna* 'good-looking', v*rodlyva* 'beautiful', etc. Even when speaking about their weight/figure, the female authors choose metaphorical devices, for example, *strunka iak chereshnia v sadu* 'slim as a cherry-tree in the garden', *z harnymy formamy* 'with good curves', etc.

Secondly, according to Epel, Spanakos, Kasl-Godley, & Brownell (1996), many people, especially women, define themselves by how they look. In this case, if a woman is satisfied with the way she looks, she includes this information in her posting. For instance, in the case with the subcategory of weight/figure, only those female authors, who feel positive about their own weight and comfortable in providing such information about the self, include it in their postings.

In general, it appears that the female authors are aware of high demands placed on women's appearance in Ukrainian society. Reporting on body shape and appearance may indicate not only satisfaction with one's own body, but also placing a high value on it by members of society. Therefore, this type of information tends to be provided in the female postings, preference given to descriptive attributes, which are open to various interpretations by the perceived addressee, rather than to numeric statements and facts. Finally, the fact that the attributes of age tend to be included by the female authors, who are in their early and mid 20's, rather than by

the females in their late 20's – 30's, may serve as a continuation of the above reasoning that female's appearance and youth are highly valued and perceived to be significant in Ukrainian society.

(iv) A similar procedure of breaking down into its constituents is applied to the category of financial/social status. The purpose of this is to determine which attributes of the financial/social status tend to be offered by the female authors in their self-presentations, and how they utilize the aspects of their economic status, education, and occupation/job. Overall, this category scored 15.5% out of the total pool of the personal ads, in which their female authors offer any information on *the self.* Table 4 contains the results of breaking down the category of financial/social status into its three subcategories:

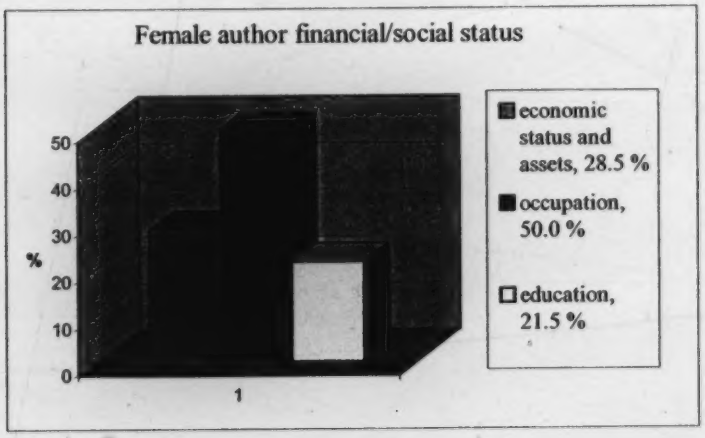
Table 4. *Females' financial/social status, %*

	Economic status and assets, %	Occupation/job, %	Education, %
Female authors	28.5	50.0	21.5

The results show a clear tendency among the female authors to emphasize primarily their occupation/job (50.0 %), rather than financial status (28.5 %) or education (21.5 %). In fact, the attributes of education are the least offered in the female self-descriptions. One of the possible explanations of this pattern of results is that the female authors perceive the information on their occupation/job as a useful

indicator of their accomplishments in career and their relative stability in society. These female authors do not readily confine themselves only to homemaking chores and duties, but rather strive to find balance between social and home spheres of their lives. This tendency may, in fact, reflect Western ideas of women's emancipation and egalitarianism, entering Ukrainian society since the collapse of 'the Iron Curtain'. Moreover, all the occupations and jobs, specified by the female authors in their self-descriptions, fall into the category of professional employment, such as medicine, business, law, management, etc., that is, those which are deemed to be prestigious.

Graph 4. *Females' financial/social status*



The factor of education status as the least popular among the female authors of personal ads remains a question. It may be due to the fact that young Ukrainian females do not perceive it as important or necessary information in the context of

online dating. It may also be that the female authors perceive this information to be the least desired in a female by potential male partners. At this point of investigation, this question remains unanswered. More data and extensive research into other domains of gender and language may shed more light onto this question.

With respect to the explicit mentioning of their financial status (28.5 %), I suggest that only those female authors who feel confident about their financial situation choose to articulate this information in their postings. Since the dating context suggests that the author presents her-/himself in the most positive light, the majority of the female authors offer what they believe they have, and in this case, it is their emotional attractiveness and/or physical qualities, rather than their economic status and assets. In addition, it is still an unusual practice for an average Ukrainian woman to speak about her economic status, since it is assumed that the financial status of the family, and thus that of the woman, is provided and secured by the man.

(v) As mentioned earlier, the category of emotional attractiveness, offered by the female authors, scored the highest and resulted in 80.0 % (see section (i)), which means that almost every female author perceives this characteristic of her personality to be the most sought and desired by the perceived male addressees. I utilize the term *'emotional attractiveness'* for the purposes of this study, since all the attributes in this category carry positive connotations (see Appendix 1 for a complete list of such attributes), as the very word *'attractiveness'* does. In order to analyze this category in detail, it is broken down into five subcategories:

- **Personal traits only** – those, which describe 'I' and 'my attitude to life' (such as, *seriozna* 'serious'; *romantychna* 'romantic'; *zhyttieradisna* 'cheerful'; *vrivnovazhena* 'level-headed'; *enerhiina* 'energetic'; *motorna* 'agile'; *nezakompleksovana* 'without complexes'; *optymistychna, optymistka* 'optimistic, an optimist'; *spokiina* 'calm', etc.)
- **Interpersonal traits only** – those, which describe 'I in relation to you' (such as, *sorom'iazlyva* 'shy'; *nadiina* 'reliable'; *nizhna* 'tender'; *lahidna* 'gentle'; *poriadna* 'decent'; *taktovna* 'tactful'; *chuttieva, chuina* 'sensuous'; *dobra* 'kind'; *liubliacha* 'loving'; *virna* 'loyal'; *shchyra* 'sincere'; *chesna* 'honest'; *spravedlyva* 'just'; *vidverta* 'sincere'; *vidpovidal'na* 'responsible'; *dobrozychlyva* ' benevolent, well-wishing', etc.)
- **Both personal and interpersonal traits, presented equally** – that is, the authors do not show clear preference to either of the first two subcategories;
- **More personal traits** – the author includes more personal traits;
- **More interpersonal traits** – the author includes more interpersonal traits.

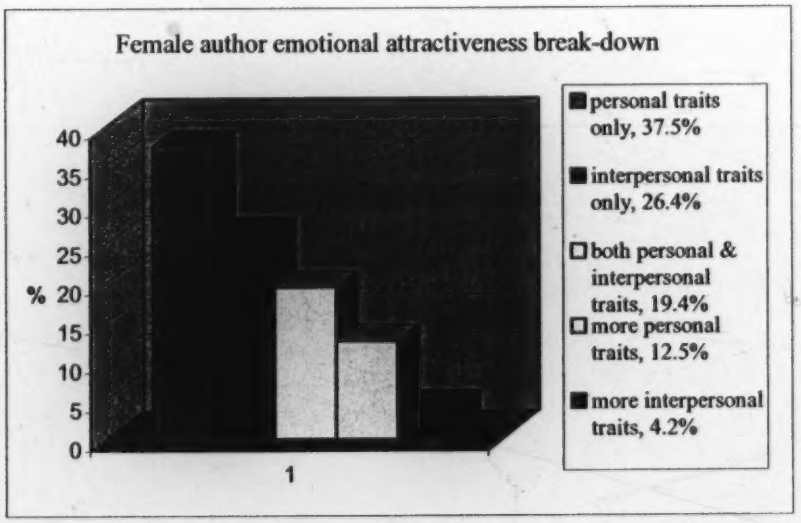
In the context of offering one's own emotional attractiveness to the perceived male addressee, the female authors display the following patterns:

Table 5a. *Females' emotional attractiveness, %*

	Personal traits only, %	Interpersonal traits only, %	Both personal & interpersonal traits, %	More personal traits, %	More interpersonal traits, %
Female authors	37.5	26.4	19.4	12.5	4.2

The results, presented in Table 5a, indicate that the female authors tend to offer information, first of all, on their personal traits (37.5 %), followed by their interpersonal traits (26.4 %). 19.4 % of the female authors display a balance in offering both their personal and interpersonal traits. The subcategory of offering more personal traits (12.5 %) and the subcategory of offering more interpersonal traits (4.2 %) echo the discussed tendency to provide more attributes from the subcategory of personal traits only (37.5 %) vs. the attributes from the subcategory of interpersonal traits only (26.4 %). The discussed patterns are also demonstrated in Graph 5a:

Graph 5a. *Females' emotional attractiveness*



In order to explain these findings, I combine the subcategory *'Personal traits only'* with the subcategory *'More personal traits'* (since within this subcategory, the

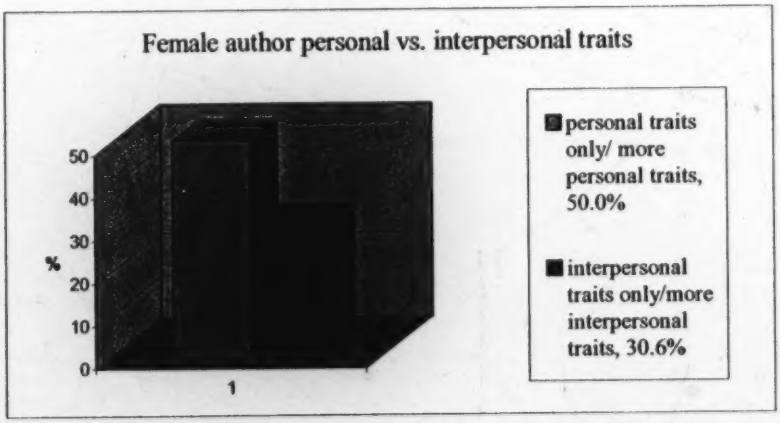
women choose to offer more personal traits), and the subcategory *'Interpersonal traits only'* with the subcategory *'More interpersonal traits'* (since within this subcategory, the women choose to offer more interpersonal traits). Consider the results, presented in Table 5b, which support the findings that the female authors favor primarily personal traits in their offerings, and less interpersonal traits:

Table 5b. *Females' personal vs. interpersonal traits, %*

	Personal traits only / More personal traits, %	Interpersonal traits only / More interpersonal traits, %
Female authors	50.0	30.6

Note that the subcategory *'Both personal and interpersonal traits, offered equally'* (19.4 %) is not included in Table 5b and Graph 5b respectively, since this subcategory carries equal loads of both personal and interpersonal traits. It means that this subcategory influences the percentage loads of neither personal nor interpersonal traits at all.

Graph 5b. *Females' personal vs. interpersonal traits*



The results suggest that, in the context of personal ads, and in particular, while offering their own emotional attractiveness, the female authors choose to portray themselves from the perspective of 'I'-focus, and how this 'I' is expressed in their perceptions of the world and everyday life. In the female postings, the following personal traits are most common: *seriozna* 'serious'; *romantychna* 'romantic'; *zhyttieradisna* 'cheerful'; *vrivnovazhena* 'well-balanced'; *enerhiina* 'energetic'; *motorna* 'agile'; *optymistychna, optymistka* 'optimistic, an optimist', etc.

In their initial online postings, a considerable number of the female authors seem to avoid sharing their interpersonal traits with a large pool of potential male partners. Since only initial online postings and not replies to them are under investigation here, I can only predict that the female authors would be more likely to talk about their inner interpersonal virtues later on in the course of their correspondence with the selected male addressee(s). That is, for the female authors, it may be important to establish, firstly, a certain rapport and closer bonds with specific male addressee(s), with whom she would articulate her own interpersonal traits and those of his.

In addition, as we will see, the female authors' stipulation of the desired partner's emotional attractiveness, the results may also be indicative of the female author's interpersonal values. That is, *what* the female author is looking for in the partner, indicates that she values those qualities and, possibly, can offer them to him in return (see below, section 'Female authors' stipulations of the desired partner').

As for the 30.6 % of the female authors who were more likely to provide their interpersonal traits, I suggest that these females perceive it as a strategy to establish closer bonding with the perceived male addressee, and start to do it in their initial postings. Their line of reasoning may be as follows: the more information on my interpersonal qualities I offer initially, the more likely it is that I would attract those males, who also share these values and, preferably, can offer the same virtues to me in return. However, more research is necessary either to support or disapprove this explanation.

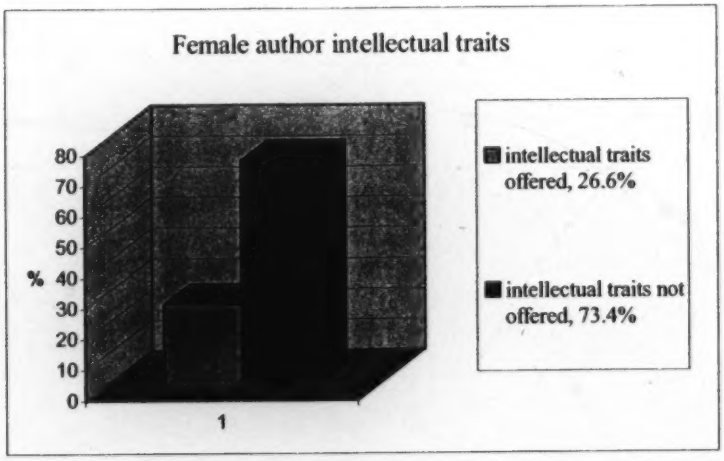
(vi) As discussed in section (iv), the female authors tend to offer their education status least frequently in the initial postings (21.5 %; in comparison to their economic status, 28.5 %, and occupation/job, 50.0 %). Based on this finding, I hypothesize that the percentage load of offering their own intellectual traits will echo the low percentile of articulating their educational status/level, and thus, it will be minimal. To test this hypothesis, the following analysis has been carried out. All the ads, in which their female authors offer any information on *the self* to the addressee, have been screened and grouped into two subcategories. The former includes those postings, in which the female authors elaborate on their intellectual traits (see Appendix 1 for the complete list); while the latter comprises the rest of the ads, in which the females' intellectual traits are not mentioned at all. Consider the results, which are presented in Table 6 and Graph 6 respectively:

Table 6. *Females' intellectual qualities, %*

	Intellectual qualities offered, %	Intellectual qualities not offered, %
Female author	26.6	73.4

As seen from Table 6, the female authors prefer not to include explicit statements of their intellectual traits in their initial postings[13].

Graph 6. *Females' intellectual qualities*



The hypothesis that many female authors would tend not to offer their intellectual traits explicitly has been confirmed. It means that many females perceive this information, as well as information on their educational level, to be the least

[13] Noteworthy is the fact that many female postings have elaborate textual layout, contain complex syntactic constructions, syntactic connectors, metaphorical expressions, few grammatical and/or spelling mistakes, etc. which implicitly point to the females' high intellectual/educational level.

desired or valued by the male addressee, and therefore, they do not articulate these traits in their self-presentations overtly.

The main tendencies displayed by the female authors in their self-presentations are the following: the females tend to include the description of the self in their initial postings; information on their own emotional attractiveness, in particular personal traits, is offered in most cases; within the category of their physical qualities, the attributes of appearance are favoured the most; within the category of the females' financial/social status, the subcategory of occupation/job is preferred.

3.1.2 Stipulation of the desired partner

In this subsection, I examine the female authors' stipulations of the desired partner. The framework, employed in this analysis, is similar to the one, which was developed to examine the patterns of the females' presentations of the self. It follows the same line of investigation, and the headings of the categories and subcategories are consistent with those, which have been used above. The only change is in the focus of investigation, which shifts from the females' self-presentation toward their stipulation of the desired partner.

(i) In order to begin the analysis, I need to determine how many female authors prefer to stipulate the desired partner in their initial postings. Out of all the

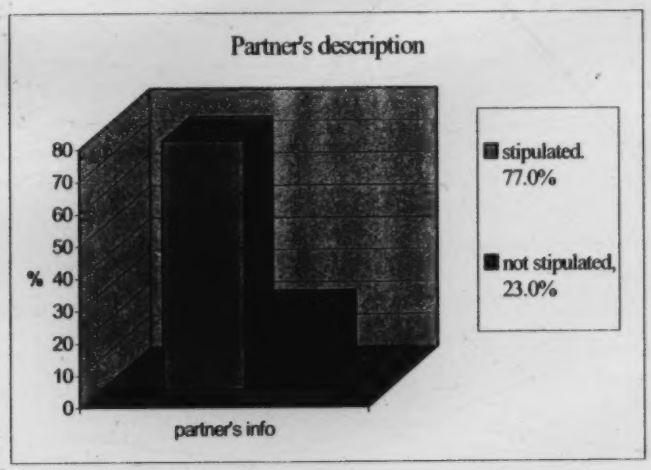
advertisements analyzed, 77.0 % of the female authors choose to stipulate the desired partner, while 23.0 % prefer not to include this information at all (see Table 7).

***Table 7.** Females' stipulation of the desired male partner, %*

	Partner's description stipulated, %	Partner's description not stipulated, %
Female authors	77.0	23.0

The results in Table 7 suggest that the majority of the females display a tendency to stipulate the desired male partner, which means that they perceive it to be significant information in the context of personal ads. If the results in Table 1a and Table 7 are compared, it is seen that the percentage of the female authors, who offer their self-description (79.7 %), approximates the percentage of their stipulations of the desired partner (77.0 %). As it was discussed in the previous section (3.1.1 (i)), 56.7 % of the female authors structure their ads on two 'pillars' – the first one is information on *the self,* and the second is stipulation of the desired partner. The rest of the female authors choose to put only one of the two components in focus – either to offer the *self* (23.0 %) or to stipulate the significant *other* (20.3%). However, in this part of the study, I am interested in and focus on those personal ads in which the female authors choose to stipulate the ideal partner (77.0%). The statistical difference between those personal ads, in which the female authors stipulate the desired other, and those, which focus solely on the self, is displayed visually in Graph 7:

Graph 7. Females' stipulation of the desired male partner



For the purposes of the analysis, 77.0 % of the desired partner's stipulations is considered 100 %, and then, it is broken down into smaller categories and subcategories.

(ii) The initial break-down of the stipulated partner's description is represented between the following categories: Financial/social status, Physical qualities, and Emotional attractiveness. The results are the following:

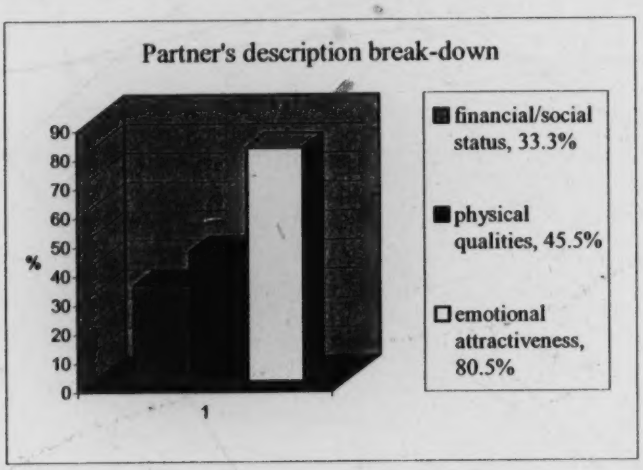
Table 8. *Male partner's stipulation break-down, %*

	Financial/social status, %	Physical qualities, %	Emotional attractiveness, %
Female authors	33.3	45.5	80.5

The results in Table 8 indicate that the female authors, first of all, display a tendency to stipulate partners' emotional attractiveness (80.5 %), followed by physical qualities (45.5 %), and, finally, by his financial/social status (33.3 %) (see Appendix 1 for specific examples of key attributes). Contrary to all findings of the previous studies of personal ads, which unanimously state that females lead in their stipulations of the partner's financial/social status, the Ukrainian female authors seem to focus on the ideal partner's emotional attractiveness. By including more attributes of the partner's emotional attractiveness in their postings, the Ukrainian female authors indicate their desire to have a partner who possesses those virtues rather than a partner who has achieved some financial/social status in society. These findings demonstrate that, while the desired partner's financial/social status tend to score high in Western personal ads (as suggested by Koestner and Wheeler 1988; Davis 1990; Montini and Ovrebro 1990; Smith et al. 1990; Willis and Carlson 1993, etc.), the ideal partner's emotional attractiveness is desired the most in the Ukrainian 'lonely heart' postings.

It is noteworthy that the female authors tend not to limit their desired partners' descriptions by attributes from a single category. For example, a partner's emotional attractiveness may be supplemented by the attributes of either physical qualities or financial/social status, or both (note, however, that the last pattern is infrequent in the analyzed data).

Graph 8. Male partner's stipulation break-down



Interestingly, the percentage of the female authors who offer their physical attractiveness (47.0 %, cf. Graph 2) approximates the percentage load of the female authors' stipulation of the desired partner's physical qualities (45.5 %). It may be suggested that physically attractive women tend to display an interest in the partner's physical qualities in addition to their stipulations of his emotional attractiveness and/or financial/social status more often. This pattern may be due to the influence of the contemporary Ukrainian mass media discourse, which produces, emphasizes, and promotes high standards of physical qualities for both men and women. For instance, in many TV commercials, next to a handsome man, as a rule, there is a charming woman and vice versa. Therefore, the female advertisements may reflect and echo with those values and standards of physical attractiveness, which are articulated in the mass media. Further examination into the category of the partner's physical

attractiveness is necessary to undertake in order to determine what physical qualities are given more value in the females' postings.

(iii) In order to analyze physical qualities of the desired male partner in more detail, the category of rhe partner's physical qualities with its percentage load of 45.5 % is taken for 100 %, and broken down into the subcategories of appearance, weight/figure, height, and age. Consider the results in Table 9:

Table 9. *Male partner's physical qualities stipulated by females, %*

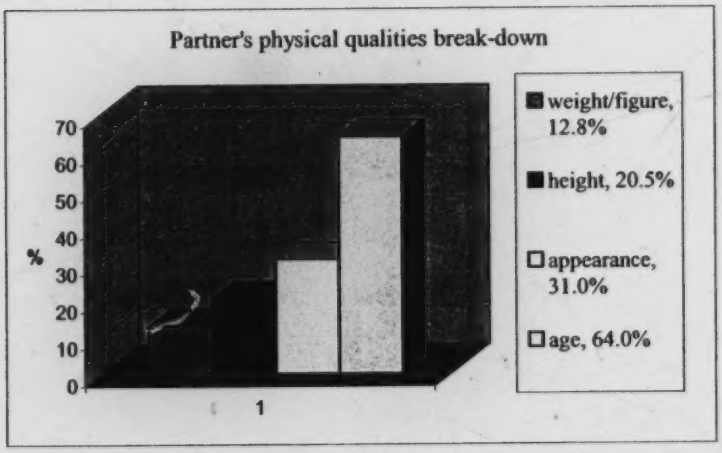
	Weight/Figure, %	Height, %	Appearance, %	Age, %
Female authors	12.8	20.5	31.0	64.0

As seen in Table 9, the subcategory of age (64.0 %) scores the highest in the female authors' stipulations of the desired partner, followed by the attributes from the subcategory of appearance (31.0 %), height (20.5 %), and, finally, weight/figure (12.8 %). The question here is why the female authors display the most interest in the partner's age. One possible explanation may be that there are unwritten societal rules stating that females need to be younger than their male partners. From another viewpoint, the factor of age may be indirectly connected to the partner's financial/social status in society. For example, in Ukrainian society, a man is supposed to achieve an adequate social status by a certain age (in his late 20's – early

30's), such as to receive higher education, find a job, to be more or less independent from his parents[14].

As to possible explanations of why the female authors tend to stipulate the partner's height (20.5 %) more often than his weight/figure (12.8 %), I may suggest that in Ukrainian society, it is considered preferable for a man to be taller or at least of the same height as his female partner, while the reversed pattern is stigmatized. However, this does not apply to the partners' weight/figure. In addition, height remains more or less stable throughout an individual's adolescent life, while his/her weight and body shapes are subject to changes in the course of lifetime.

Graph 9a. *Male partner's physical qualities stipulated by females*



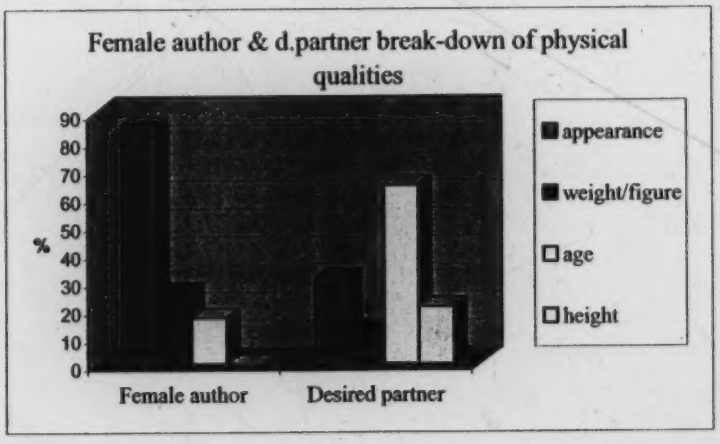
The question of why the subcategory of appearance is more favored by the female authors than the subcategories of weight/figure and height may be attributed

[14] This is an interesting question that may be answered if fieldwork in Ukraine is conducted.

to the fact that the female authors tend to use more qualitative attributes, rather than quantitative ones (see Appendix 1 for a complete list of attributes of physical qualities). A similar pattern is observed in the females' descriptions of their own physical qualities (see section 3.1.1, subsection (iii)). Therefore, the females' tendency toward more descriptive attributes and wording reflects the higher percentage of the subcategory of the partner's appearance in comparison to the subcategory of his weight/figure.

It is interesting to compare Graph 3 presented previously, which demonstrates the break-down of the females' physical qualities, and graph 9a above (combined in graph 9b below). Graph 9b displays the patterns of physical qualities, which the female authors choose to offer the desired partner, and those physical qualities, which they expect to see in him.

Graph 9b. *Females' offers and stipulations of the male partner's physical qualities*



When analyzing the results, presented in Graph 9b, it is seen that the leading aspect in the offerings of the self is appearance, while the leading factor in the females' stipulations of the desired partner is his age. In addition, the graph demonstrates that, overall, the break-down of the females' physical qualities tends to be shifted toward one subcategory 'appearance', while the break-down of those of the ideal partner tend to be more or less distributed among all four subcategories. This thus suggests that the female authors tend to define their physical qualities mostly through their appearance. Although, while describing their desired other, they make use of several subcategories of physical qualities, displaying a tendency to provide a rounded picture of their ideal partners.

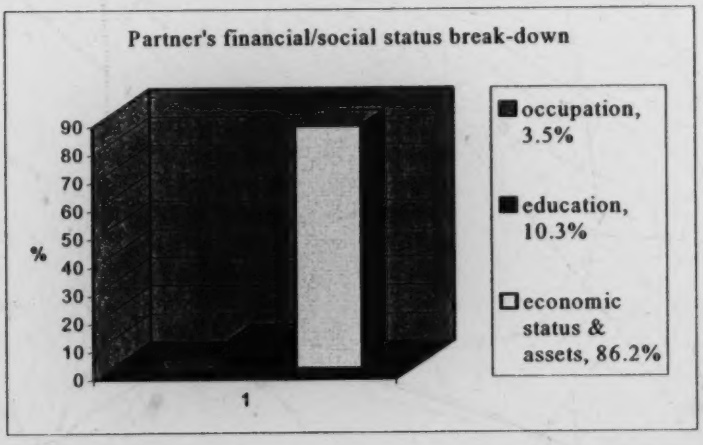
(iv) The initial break-down of those personal ads, in which the female authors choose to include the desired partner's description, has revealed that the partner's financial/social status is rated, in fact, the lowest (33.3 %), and thus, perceived by the females to be the least important, in comparison to his emotional attractiveness (80.5 %) and physical qualities (45.5 %). Nevertheless, for the purposes of this study, it is essential to determine the priorities of those females, who choose to stipulate the partner's financial/social status. Therefore, this category is divided into the following subcategories: education, occupation/job, and economic status and assets. The results are presented in Table 10:

***Table 10**. Male partner's financial/social status stipulated by females, %*

	Occupation/Job, %	Education, %	Economic status & assets, %
Female authors	3.5	10.3	86.2

Table 10 provides evidence that the leading aspect in those females' ads, which include stipulations of the partner's financial/social status, is his economic status and assets, scoring 86.2 % (for example, *material'no zabezpechenyi* 'financially secured'; *bez material'nykh problem* 'without financial problems'; *samostiinyi, nezalezhnyi* '[financially] independent'; *bez zhytlovykh problem* 'without housing problems'; *zabezpechenyi* '[financially] well-to-do', etc.).

***Graph 10a.** Male partner's financial/social status stipulated by females*



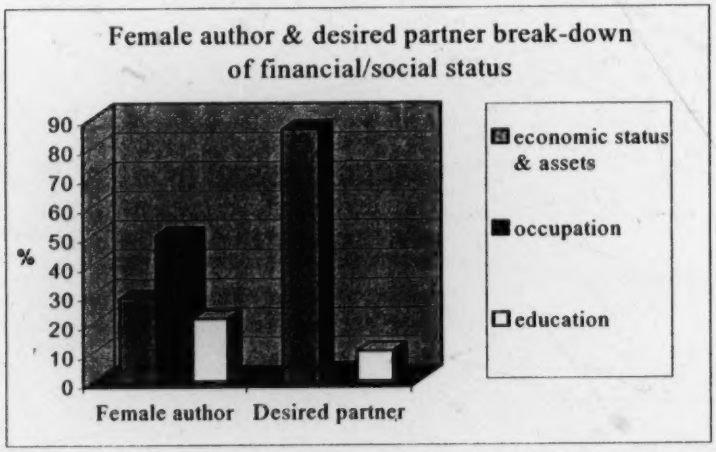
The subcategory of economic status and assets is followed by the subcategory of the desired partner's education (10.3 %), which may also be perceived by those females, who include such information in their stipulations, as a way of advancement

toward a higher financial/social status in society. On the contrary, those female authors, who choose not to stipulate the partner's education (89.7 %), may perceive the information on partner's educational status to be less significant for building serious relations and family.

With respect to the fact that only 3.5 % of the female authors articulate the desired partner's occupation/job, I suggest that this kind of information, as well as the stipulation of the partner's educational status, may be context sensitive. The female authors may consider it irrelevant to stipulate the desired partner's education and occupation/job in the context of initial e-postings, and thus, choose to reserve this information for correspondence in the future. In addition, an unstable situation on the Ukrainian labor market and current changes within it[15] also contribute to the irrelevancy of the stipulation of such information in the present context. From another viewpoint, there is a possibility that, while stating that they are looking for 'a financially secure partner', the female authors may have in mind a man with a secure job and/or higher education.

[15] Bu such changes I mean high rate of unemployment, strong job competition, discrepancy in employment of qualified and non-qualified employees, job insecurity, and others.

Graph 10b. *Females' offers and stipulations of the male partner's financial/social status*



Graph 10b demonstrates comparative results and patterns of the female authors' offers of their own financial/social status and their stipulations of that of the desired partner. As seen from the graph, the pattern of offers tends to be more or less balanced among the subcategories in comparison to the pattern of stipulations, which is highly dominated by the partner's economic status and assets.

(v) In the analyzed personal ads, the percentage of females' stipulations of the desired partner's emotional traits yields 80.5 %. This is similar to the percentage of females' offers of their own emotional attractiveness to the perceived partner, which results in 80.0 % of all the postings (3.1.2, subsection (ii)). Nevertheless, the patterns, observed between the offers of their own (earlier Table 5a and Graph 5a)

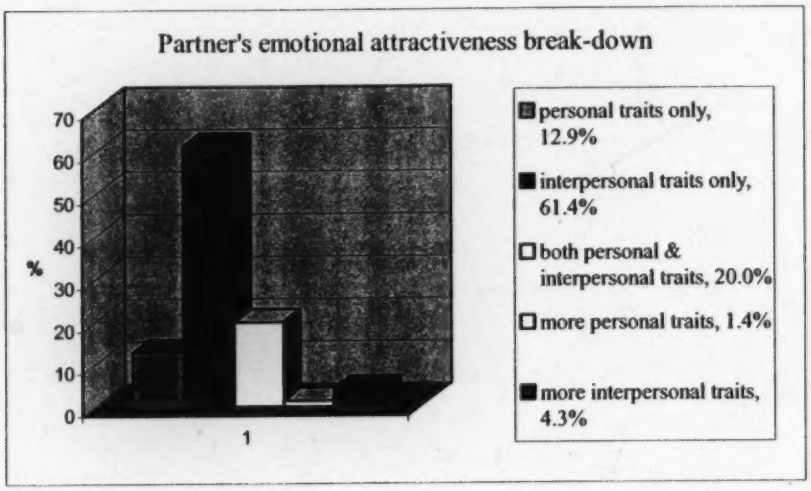
and the stipulations of the ideal partner's emotional attractiveness (Table 11a and Graph 11a below) are quite different.

Table 11a. *Male partner's emotional attractiveness stipulated by females, %*

	Personal traits only, %	Interpersonal traits only, %	Both personal & interpersonal traits equally, %	More personal traits, %	More interpersonal traits, %
Female authors	12.9	61.4	20.0	1.4	4.3

As seen in Table 11a, the leading subcategory in the stipulation of the desired partner's emotional attractiveness is his interpersonal traits (61.4 %), that is, those with the focus on *'you'*, which, in this case, is the female author herself. In other words, by putting the main emphasis on the partner's interpersonal traits, the female author indicates that she is looking for a caring, loyal, reliable partner. Moreover, by articulating these interpersonal traits, which the desired partner is to have, the female author bids for certain gender roles, such as, he is to care for her, be faithful and reliable in marriage and family, gentle and kind toward her and future offspring. If such stipulations are included, they are perceived to be important for the female author. Graph 11a clearly demonstrates the leading role of the partner's interpersonal traits in comparison to his other emotional qualities:

Graph 11a. *Male partner's emotional attractiveness stipulated by females*



In addition, the prevailing tendency to include interpersonal traits may also reflect the female author's past experiences in her relations with males. For instance, if she happened to be in relationship with a male, who did not possess or display certain interpersonal traits, she may now consider including them in her posting, and thus, the female author emphasizes the importance of these qualities in the desired partner. Furthermore, this suggests that language can and does reflect an individual's past and present experiences directly or indirectly, as well as putting into perspective articulations of the desired future and strivings for it.

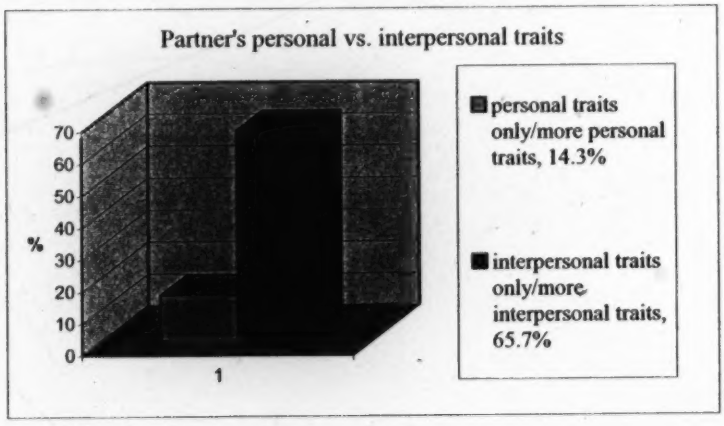
In the following part of this sub-section, the subcategory of the partner's *'Personal traits only'* are combined with the subcategory of *'More personal traits'*, and the subcategory of the partner's *'Interpersonal traits only'* are combined with

the subcategory of *'More interpersonal traits'* in order to reinforce the above findings. Consider the results in Table 11b:

Table 11b. *Male partner's personal vs. interpersonal traits, %*

	Personal traits only / More personal traits, %	Interpersonal traits only / More interpersonal traits, %
Female authors	14.3	65.7

Graph 11b. *Male partner's personal vs. interpersonal traits*

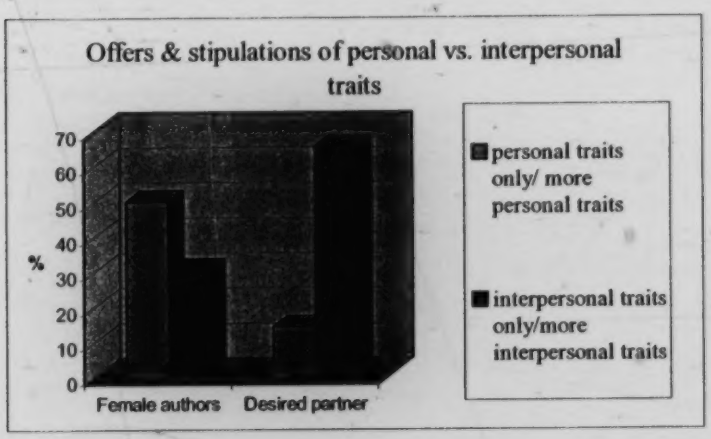


According to the results presented in Table 11b and Graph 11b, approximately every second female author from the present pool of personal ads displays her interest in the partner's interpersonal traits through stipulations in her posting, while every seventh woman accentuates the partner's personal traits.

Graph 11c combines results of earlier Graph 5b (the female authors' offers of their own emotional attractiveness) and Graph 11b above (the female authors'

stipulations of the partner's emotional qualities). The following graph provides the comparison of features of emotional attractiveness the female authors tend to offer about themselves, and those they tend to stipulate for the desired partner.

Graph 11c. *Females' offers and stipulations of personal vs. interpersonal traits*



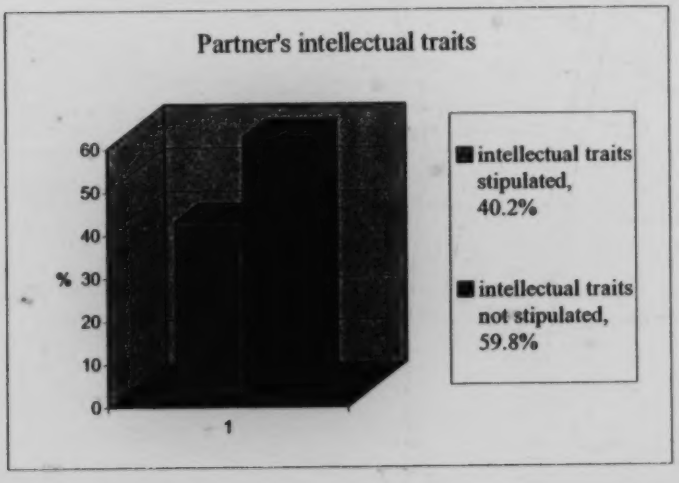
As seen from the graph above, the female authors display a clear tendency to offer their personal traits to the perceived partner (50.0 % of personal traits vs. 30.6 % of interpersonal traits), while expressing their desire to find a male partner, who, in fact, possess more interpersonal qualities (65.7 % of interpersonal traits vs. 14.3 % of personal traits).

(vi) As the following analysis indicates, 40.2 % of the female authors choose to stipulate their partner's intellectual traits. Nevertheless, the number of those females, who prefer not to include this information in the body of their postings, is higher (59.8 %). Consider the results in Table 12 and Graph 12a below:

Table 12. *Male partner's intellectual qualities stipulated by females, %*

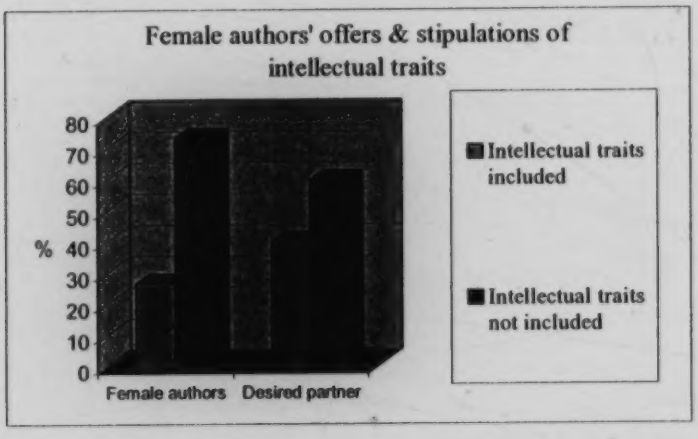
	Partner's intellectual traits stipulated, %	Partner's intellectual traits not stipulated, %
Female authors	40.2	59.8

Graph 12a. *Male partner's intellectual qualities stipulated by females*



The following Graph 12b compares the percentage loads of how many female authors choose to offer information on their own intellectual traits with how many females choose to stipulate the ideal partner's intellectual qualities.

Graph 12b. Females' offers and stipulations of intellectual qualities



The results in Graph 12b demonstrate a tendency among the female authors to stipulate the desired partner's intellectual traits more frequently (40.2 %), rather than to offer their own intellectual qualities to the perceived addressee (26.6 %). That is, the female authors perceive that for males their partner's intellectual traits are not of great importance in the mating context; while for females the factor of the desired partners' intellectual qualities has more weight. This finding reinforces a stereotype that in traditional Ukrainian society males are viewed as thinkers and decision-makers in public matters, while females are more concerned with practical issues of housekeeping and child rearing. It comes as no surprise that females desire a partner with certain intellectual qualities and, thus, capable to secure a solid financial/social standing for the family and future offspring.

The female authors display the following tendencies in their stipulations of the desired partner: they tend to stipulate first and foremost the desired partner's

emotional attractiveness, in particular his interpersonal traits; the partner's age is requested the most compared to other subcategories within the category of partner's physical qualities; the desired partner's economic status and assets tend to be stipulated the most within the category of partner's financial/social status.

3.2 Intragender analysis: male authors

This section is devoted to the intragender analysis of the male personal advertisements. First, I examine information that the male authors choose to offer about the self to the perceived female partner. I discuss linguistic strategies that males select to initiate correspondence and prospective relations with her. Second, I examine the information and strategies used by the male authors to stipulate the ideal female partner, and gender roles they attribute to her, based on the information presented in their initial postings. The analysis in this section is structured similarly to that in the previous analysis of the intragender analysis of the female personal advertisements. Namely, I use the same categories, subcategories, and key words (see Appendix 1) to categorize the collected data:

- physical qualities (appearance, age, height, weight/figure);
- financial/social status (occupation/job, education, economic status and assets);
- emotional attractiveness (personal traits, interpersonal traits);
- intellectual qualities.

I carry out a statistical analysis to discuss the results, which are presented in tables and graphs.

3.2.1 Self-presentation

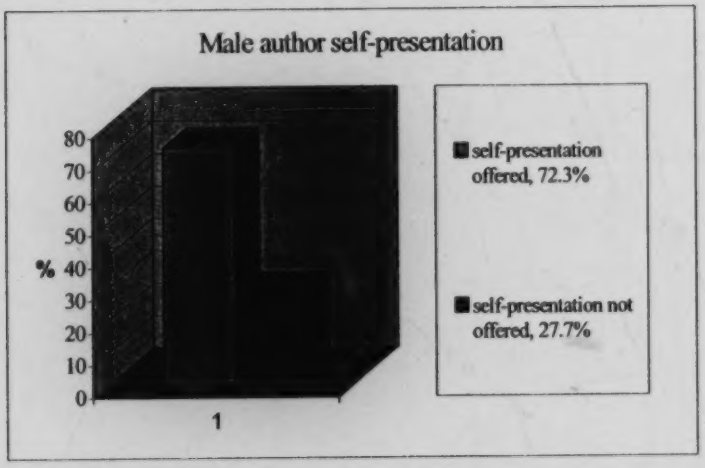
(i) The initial hypothesis that the male authors may tend to omit self-descriptive information from the body of their postings or may show a tendency to reduce their self-presentation to minimum was not substantiated statistically. That is, 72.3 % of the collected male postings contain the presentation of the self, whereas in 27.7 % of the advertisement samples such information was not provided at all. Consider the results in Table 13:

Table 13. Males' self-presentation, %

	Self-presentation offered, %	Self-presentation not offered, %
Male authors	72.3	27.7

The expectation that the male authors may tend to stipulate the perceived female partner, rather than to present themselves, was based on the assumption that, due to the patriarchal/traditional nature of Ukrainian society, men have been responsible for and, thus, in a position of making decisions and choices on many levels of Ukrainian society, such as in politics, economy, education, and family to name a few. Therefore, the male authors were expected to reserve for themselves a leading role in stipulating and, thus, selecting a desired partner for life. The present results do not support such claims.

Graph 13. Males' self-presentation



The high percentage of overt self-presentations in the male postings can be attributed to the following explanation. The male authors bear in mind the fact that their perceived addressees are females, who are also looking for serious relationship in life. As Nedashkivska notes (2002a), in their linguistic output, "female and male Ukrainian speakers prioritize propositions associated with the addressee differently", and "the linguistic output by males depends, in particular, on the assessment of the gender of the addressee". If an addressee is a female, males adopt linguistic strategies characteristic of females (a type of female 'genderlect' characterized by personalization features). In the context of my data, the addressee is a female and personalization features in male advertisements are overt. First, I suggest that the male authors perceive their personalized self-portraits as a linguistic strategy to

establish bonds of closeness[16] with the imagined female addressee. In other words, the male authors' reasoning may follow such a line – "I know that *you* [targeted addressee] are a female, and that you are looking for close and intimate relations with a male. Then, one of the possible ways to establish such relations and initiate closeness between us is to tell you about myself, describe my personality and character from the outset. In this case, you are likely to feel more comfortable, while replying to my initial posting". Further experimental studies, which lie outside of the scope of the current concern, will help to determine, which male authors receive more replies from the targeted female addresses – those, who provide information on *the self*, or those, who omit such information, and choose, instead, to focus on the stipulation of the desired partner. Such studies may shed some light not only onto the quantity of replies, but also their quality. For instance, how female addressees interpret and utilize information, offered by male authors on their self, to compose their initial replies to them. If such information is absent, it would be interesting to determine which strategies female respondents consider to use in order to introduce and present themselves to the male author and to request additional information on the male's personality. These and other questions need to be addressed to determine the nature of males' and females' offers and stipulations in the context of personal advertisements.

[16]For more on the theory of interlocutor closeness/distance, and its influence on the choice of the linguistic code, see Yokoyama (1994, 1999), Zaitseva (1994, 1995), and Nedashkivska (2002a, 2002b).

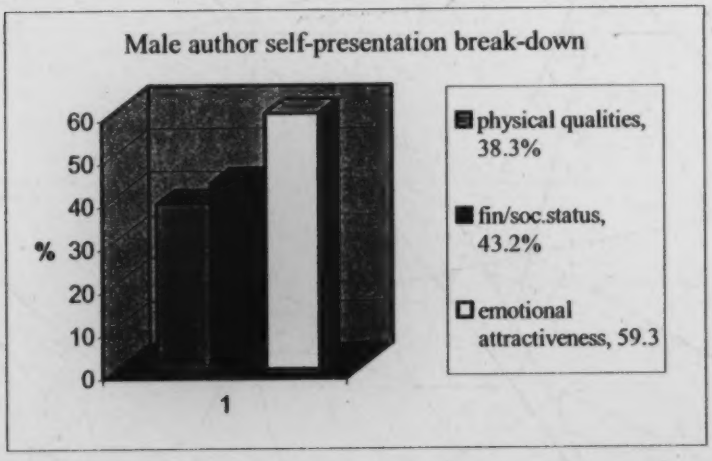
(ii) Following the discussion of self-presentations offered by the male authors, it is necessary to establish the focus, which the male authors adopt in their presentations of the self to the desired other. To achieve this objective, the total 72.3 % of the offered self-presentations has been broken down into the following constituent subcategories – physical qualities, financial/social status, and emotional attractiveness. Consider Table 14:

***Table 14.** Males' self-presentation break-down, %*

	Physical qualities, %	Financial/Social status, %	Emotional attractiveness, %
Male authors	38.3	43.2	59.3

Contrary to my expectations, as well as to the findings of the earlier studies of personal ads, the Ukrainian male authors tend to provide, first of all, information on their emotional attractiveness (59.3 %), followed by their financial/social status (43.2 %), and, finally, by their physical qualities (38.3 %) (see Appendix 1 for specific examples of key attributes). This suggests that the Ukrainian male authors perceive their own emotional attractiveness to be the most desired and sought by the females, who are looking for male partners to initiate close relations, bearing the potential of creating a family in the future.

Graph 14. Males' self-presentation break-down



When compared to the break-down of the female authors' self-presentation (see Graph 2: emotional attractiveness 80.0 %; physical qualities 47.0 %; financial/social status 15.5 %), it is seen that the male authors tend to provide information on the self more evenly across the three subcategories. The results suggest that, in the males' view, females are likely to seek a partner, who is: firstly, emotionally attractive (such as, loyal, kind, reliable, sincere, etc.); secondly, able or has a potential to provide for the family; and thirdly, attractive and physically fit to, perhaps, eventually conceive and support healthy offspring. Therefore, in their initial postings, the male authors reflect high expectations and gender roles, which are attributed to them and articulated in modern Ukrainian society.

(iii) In order to determine which physical qualities the male authors foreground in their self-presentations, and then, explain why they choose certain qualities rather

than others, the category of physical qualities is broken down into its constituents – age, appearance, weight/figure, and height. Consider Table 15:

***Table 15.** Males' physical qualities, %*

	Height, %	Weight/figure, %	Appearance, %	Age, %
Male authors	16.2	25.8	38.7	54.8

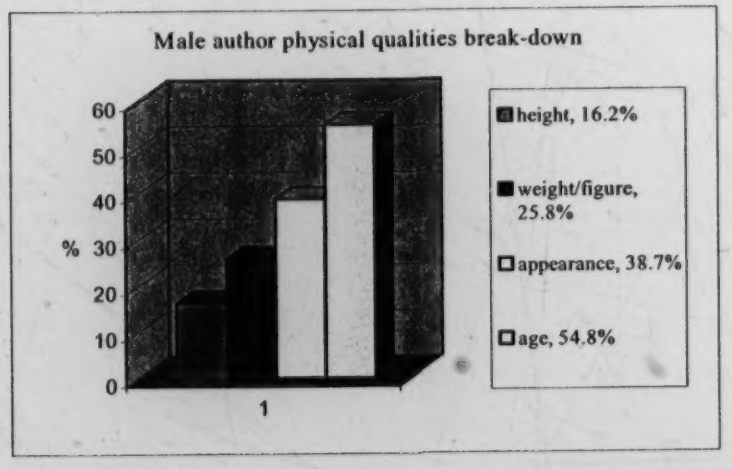
In the males' self-presentation of physical qualities, the attributes of age appear to be preferred the most (54.8 %), followed by the attributes of appearance (38.7 %), then by weight/figure (25.8 %), and, finally, by the attributes of height (16.2 %). Males perceive age to be the most desired by females. It is interesting to note that females, in their stipulations of the desired male partner, also placed age at the forefront (see 3.1.2 (iii)).

As a possible explanation of this outcome, I may suggest the following. The indication of age, in this case, is used by the male authors as informational load. Namely, if the male author is middle-aged (such as, a 35-37 year old, taking into consideration that the average life expectation among Ukrainian males is approximately 60 years), by including his age, he may signal, first of all, his life experience, and secondly, his social status. In other words, the more mature/older a man, the more life experience he is likely to have already acquired, and a more solid/stable social status he is supposedly to have achieved by this age. In the collected data, the majority of the male authors, who choose to provide their age, are

of the middle age. By including age in their initial postings, the middle-aged male authors are likely to view it as an asset.

On the other hand, those male authors, who are in their mid- or late 20s and choose to specify their age, tend to include some additional information on their financial/social status, such as, occupation and/or education. As an explanation of this tendency, I may suggest that these male authors want to signal the fact that, irrespectively of their young age, they have already achieved a certain social status or a particular level of social security in life.

Graph 15. *Males' physical qualities*



Although initially I expected to find a less significant, than 38.7 %, percentage of offering one's own appearance in the male postings, this amount is almost half, when compared with features of appearance, offered by the female authors (85.7 %). Such results suggest that a significant number of the male authors

perceive their appearance to be desired by females, and, thus, include this information in their initial postings.

(iv) In this subsection, I analyze the results of breaking down the category of financial/social status into its constituents - education, occupation/job, and economic status and assets. The results show that the Ukrainian male authors tend to emphasize, first of all, their occupation/job (68.6 %), followed by their educational level or field of studies (34.3 %), and, finally, by their economic status and assets (25.7 %). These results are presented in Table 16:

Table 16. *Males' financial/social status, %*

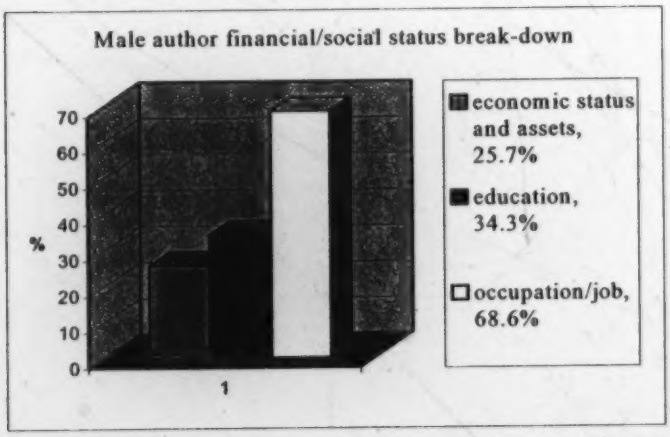
	Economic status and assets, %	Education, %	Occupation/Job, %
Male authors	25.7	34.3	68.6

As the results indicate, in the males' view, their occupation/job should serve as a good indicator of their success in life and society, because it indirectly indicates prestige, income, and other benefits associated with a particular occupation/job. Moreover, since it is uncommon (at least, in the context of personal ads) to specify one's own earnings/income explicitly, the occupation/job can covertly point out to the male's financial/social status.

The high percentage in providing one's own occupation/job found in the majority of the male postings may also signal that the male authors view themselves

as family providers, and thus, bid for this traditional gender role in the context of personal advertisement.

Graph 16. Males' financial/social status



Information on one's own educational level and/or type of education/field of studies portrays the male authors in a public/social sphere. The decision to include this information in the initial posting may also indicate that the male author perceives it as a strategy to put an emphasis on the fact that a male with a particular level/type of education is more likely to get a prestigious and well-paid job, and thus, be able to provide for the family.

The explanations above regarding high percentages in offering one's own occupation/job and education in the male postings help explain the lowest percentage in offering their economic status and assets (25.7 %). Occupation/job implies a certain financial status. In other words, in modern Ukrainian society, males perceive

their occupation/job to better serve goals of shaping their social identities. This is unlike the Soviet time, when economic status and assets (such as, *zhytlom zabezpechenyi* '[I] have my own place'; *maiu mashinu i dachu* '[I] have a car and a summer house', etc.) were considered important to have, and thus, more prestigious to claim. This is rooted in a belief that, in those days, Soviet citizens were, supposedly, provided with jobs by the government. In other words, the tendency to provide one's own occupation/job in the majority of the males' personal ads, rather than one's own economic assets and status, may reflect a gradual shift in social values, and echoes with transition from Soviet to market economy, which has been underway in Ukrainian society for the last fifteen years.

(v) With respect to offering one's own emotional attractiveness in the male postings, the ratio is 60.0 % : 40.0 % (or 3:2). The former is the percentage of emotional attractiveness offered by the male authors, and the latter – the percentage of the personal ads, in which the male authors did not include their emotional attractiveness in the body of their initial postings.

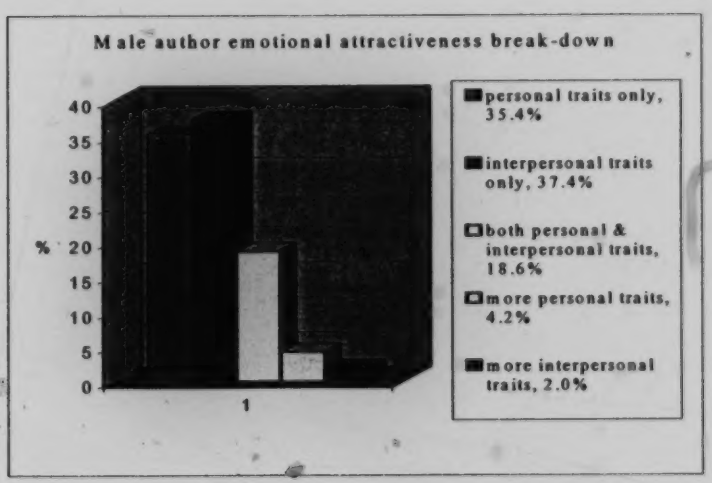
A further breakdown of the offered emotional attractiveness (60.0 %) into its five constituents - personal traits only, interpersonal traits only, both personal and interpersonal traits presented equally, more personal traits, and more interpersonal traits - has yielded the following results:

Table 17a. *Males' emotional attractiveness, %*

	Personal traits only, %	Interpersonal traits only, %	Both personal & interpersonal traits, equally, %	More personal traits, %	More interpersonal traits, %
Male authors	35.4	37.4	18.6	4.2	2.0

As seen from Table 17a, the male authors show a certain degree of balance between the categories *'Personal traits only'* and *'Interpersonal traits only'*, resulting in almost equal percentage loads – 35.4% and 37.4% respectively. The female authors, as discussed earlier, display a clear preference for personal traits while articulating their own emotional attractiveness. The male authors do not show preference for either category of emotional traits. Instead, the male authors split in their offers of emotional attractiveness evenly between the subcategories of personal and interpersonal traits.

Graph 17a. *Males' emotional attractiveness*

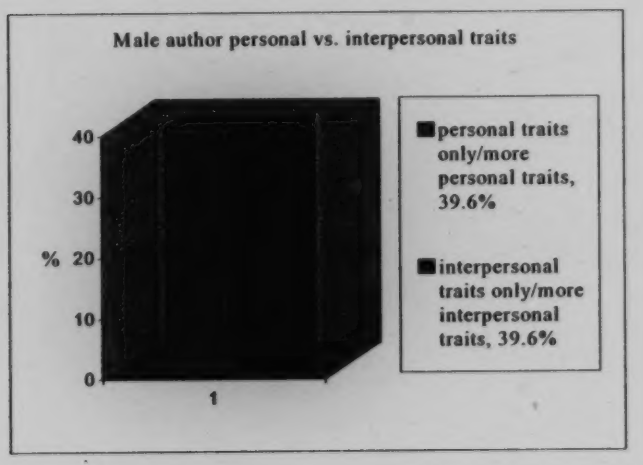


Further, if the subcategory of 'personal traits only' is combined with the subcategory of 'more personal traits', and the subcategory of 'interpersonal traits only' is combined with the subcategory of 'more interpersonal traits', the initial 2.0 % difference between them levels out completely. Consider Table 17b and Graph 17b, the results in which demonstrate the tendency among the male authors to display preference neither for personal traits nor for interpersonal traits in the ways of offering their own emotional attractiveness.

Table 17b. *Males' personal vs. interpersonal traits, %*

	Personal traits only / More personal traits, %	Interpersonal traits only / More interpersonal traits, %
Male authors	39.6	39.6

Graph 17b. *Males' personal vs. interpersonal traits*



In conclusion, referring to Nedashkivska's finding (2002a) that "the linguistic output by males depends on the assessment of the gender of the addressee", and in this case, the perceived addressee is a female, the majority of the male authors (59.3 %) choose to include their emotional attractiveness in their postings, because they perceive this information to be the most desired by females[17]. It appears that the male authors tend to provide their emotional attractiveness because the female partners desire it. Interestingly, as pointed out above, the category of emotional attractiveness scores the highest in the males' postings in comparison to the categories of physical qualities (38.3 %) and financial/social status (43.2 %). Within this category, the lack of any preference toward one of the two major subcategories of personal traits or interpersonal traits may point to an uncertainty among the male authors as to which emotional qualities are the most desired and sought in the male partner by females. In order to determine reasons for the lack of preference/tendency in their offers of emotional attractiveness by the male authors, more extensive research and measurements are necessary.

(vi) With respect to offering one's own intellectual qualities, only 22.2 % of the male authors provide such information, while the rest 77.8 % choose not to include it in their initial postings. Consider the results presented in Table 18:

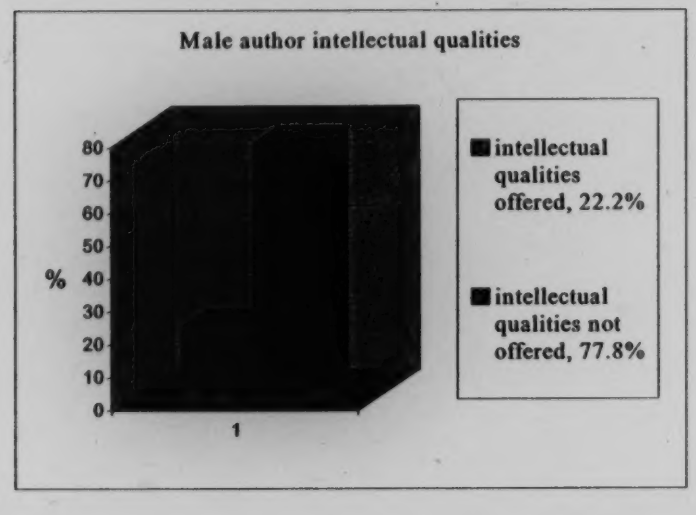
[17] Cf. Section 3.1.2 (ii), in which the female authors in their portrait of the partner request 80.5 % of emotional attractiveness.

Table 18. Males' intellectual qualities, %

	Intellectual qualities offered, %	Intellectual qualities not offered, %
Male authors	22.2	77.8

This pattern is reminiscent of the one observed in the female postings (see 3.1.1 (vi): 26.6 % of the females offer their intellectual qualities, while the rest 73.4 % do not consider them at all). However, the reasons, which underlie the two patterns, appear to be different. Their detailed discussion will be presented in Chapter 4.

Graph 18. Males' intellectual qualities



As Bourdieu (1991) and Eckert (1998) determined, men's status is strongly linked to material capital and occupation. In reference to the present study, the male

authors, as discussed earlier, show a tendency to hold firmly to their social attributes (educational level, occupation, economic assets), which define them by what they have, what they do, and/or trained to do. It may also be the case that the male authors utilize information on their education and occupation in order to covertly point out to their intellectual qualities, rather than to explicitly pinpoint their intellectual qualities as they are.

The male authors display the following tendencies in their presentations of the self: they offer information on their emotional attractiveness in most cases; however they display no preferences for either personal or interpersonal traits; within the category of physical qualities, the subcategory of age is favoured the most; occupation/job is shown to be leading within the category of the males' financial/social status.

3.2.2 Stipulation of the desired partner

This section examines the male authors' stipulations of the desired female partner. The framework for the analysis of the male advertisements corresponds to the one, developed to examine the patterns of the females' stipulations of the desired male partner. The same headings of the categories and subcategories, as employed earlier, as well as statistical procedures, are utilized in the present section.

(i) The initial examination of the males' postings reveals that their male authors perceive stipulations of the desired partner to be an important component of their messages with their ultimate goal of finding the ideal female partner and establishing serious relations with her. That is, 83.0 % of the men include stipulations of the desired other, while the rest 17.0 % consider this information less significant, and thus, choose to focus solely on their self-presentation. Consider the results presented in Table 19:

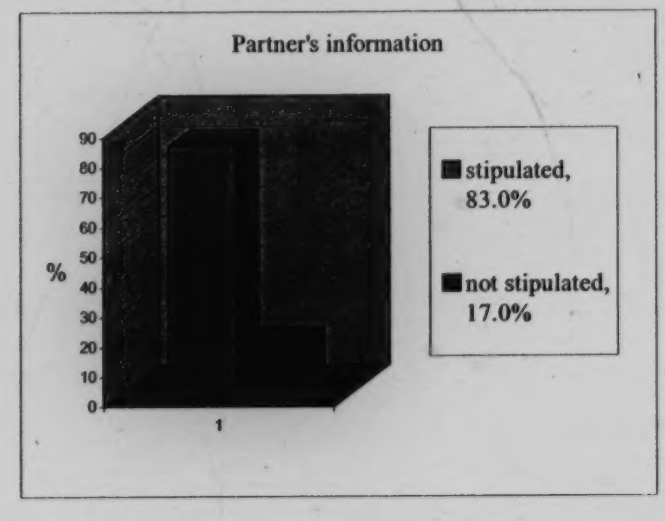
Table 19. Males' stipulation of the desired female partner, %

	Partner's information stipulated, %	Partner's information not stipulated, %
Male authors	83.0	17.0

As hypothesized, the male authors tend to stipulate the ideal partner more frequently compared to the female authors, who, nevertheless, also show a high

percentage of their stipulations of the desired other, 77.0 % (see 3.1.1 (i) for details). Graph 19a visually displays the tendency, reported above, and indicates that approximately 5 out of 6 males choose to include their stipulations of the desired female partner in their ads.

Graph 19a. *Males' stipulation of the desired female partner*

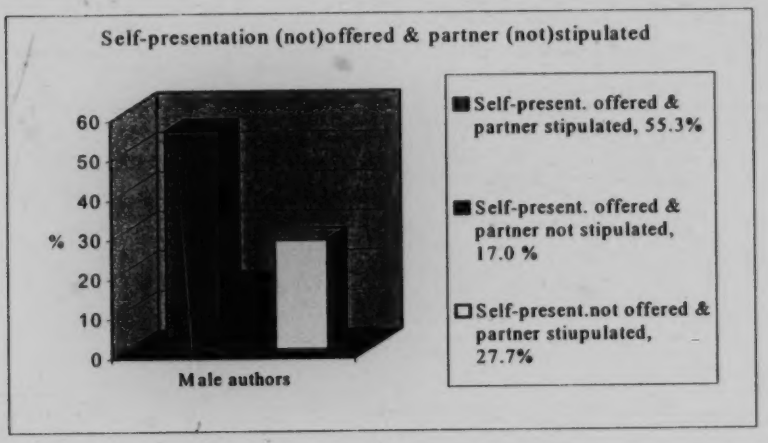


In the present analysis, I also examine the percentage loads of how many males: a) offer their self-presentation and stipulate the desired partner; b) offer their self-presentation, but do not stipulate the desired partner; c) do not offer their self-presentation, but stipulate the desired partner.

Those advertisements, in which the male authors both offer self-presentation and stipulate the ideal partner, yield the total of 55.3 % of all the postings. The remaining 44.7 % of the postings contain either self-presentation or stipulation of the desired partner. Out of these 44.7 %, 17.0 % of the postings are those, in which the

males choose to focus solely on their self-presentation, and the rest 27.7 % of the postings are those, in which the males focus exclusively on the perceived female partner[18]. These results are demonstrated in Graph 19b:

Graph 19b. *Males' self-presentation and stipulation of the desired female partner*



As the reported results indicate, the majority of the males (55.3 %) choose to include in their messages both their self-portrait and the portrait of the desired female. By doing so, they perceive that this focus is necessary to be adopted in their postings in order for a female addressee to carry out the matching work. This work involves drawing parallels between her own personality and one requested in the posting by each male author, as well as between the male's self-portrait and the one the female addressee has in mind while searching for the ideal partner.

---

[18] Cf. with a pattern displayed by the female authors: 20.3% of the females focus solely on the male addressee, while 23.0% build their ads exclusively on their self-presentation. The percentage of those females, who include both offers of the self and stipulations of the ideal partner, has resulted in 56.7%, which is quite close to that, displayed by the male authors.

With respect to those male authors, who solely concentrate on the desired partner (27.7 %), adopting the 'you'-focus, and omitting their self-presentations, they perceive that important messages on their personalities, values, and ideals can be conveyed through their stipulations of the desired female partner[19]. In this case, the targeted addressee needs to do her self-assessment and then match her personality to the one, requested by each male author in the initial posting.

The remaining 17.0 % of the males adopt the 'I'-focus, that is, they provide presentations of the self only. The matching work, that the perceived female addressee needs to carry out, is to compare each male author's self-portrait to the one she has in mind, and which covertly reflects and echoes with her own personality, values and ideals, she has developed up to this point in her life.

(ii) In the following subsection, I analyze those postings, in which their male authors choose to stipulate the desired partner. I target my analysis on those aspects, which tend to be articulated, and thus, perceived to be the most desired by the males in their female partners.

Those personal ads, in which their male authors stipulate the desired partner, regardless of whether they choose to include their self-presentation or not (83.0 %), are analyzed according to the attributes, which the male authors use to describe the ideal partner. These attributes belong to one of the three main categories:

---

[19] In addition, the verbal inventory of many male postings has the 'you'-focus, and includes verbs of activeness and 'desire' verbs (ex., *shukaiu* 'I'm looking for/searching', *bazhaiu znaity* 'I desire to find', *xochu poznaiomytysia* 'I want to meet', etc.). The females' postings display a divergent tendency, and include verbs of stativeness and 'wish' verbs (ex., *chekaiu* '[I am] waiting'; *mriiu poznaiomytysia* '[I] daydream to meet', *viriu, shco isnuie takyi cholovik*'[I] believe that such a man exists', etc.) (Babenko 2004).

financial/social status, physical qualities, and emotional attractiveness (see the complete list of them in Appendix 1). Consider the results presented in Table 20:

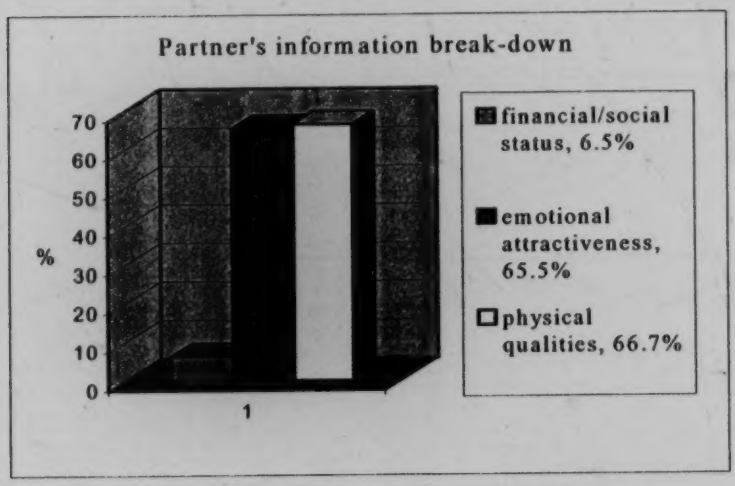
Table 20. *Female partner's stipulation break-down, %*

	Financial/social status, %	Emotional attractiveness, %	Physical qualities, %
Male authors	6.5	65.5	66.7

As seen from Table 20, the male authors display the least emphasis on the female partner's financial/social status (6.5 %), while her emotional attractiveness and physical qualities score much higher – 65.5 % and 66.7 % respectively.

Based on earlier studies of personal ads, in general, I hypothesized that the Ukrainian male authors may also tend to stipulate, first of all, their ideal partner's physical qualities. This hypothesis has been confirmed by the results of the present study. Nevertheless, none of the previous studies of personal ads has reported that the males' stipulations of the partner's physical qualities have been closely followed by the stipulations of the partner's emotional attractiveness. This tendency is outlined in the present study of the Ukrainian personal ads. Consider Graph 20a:

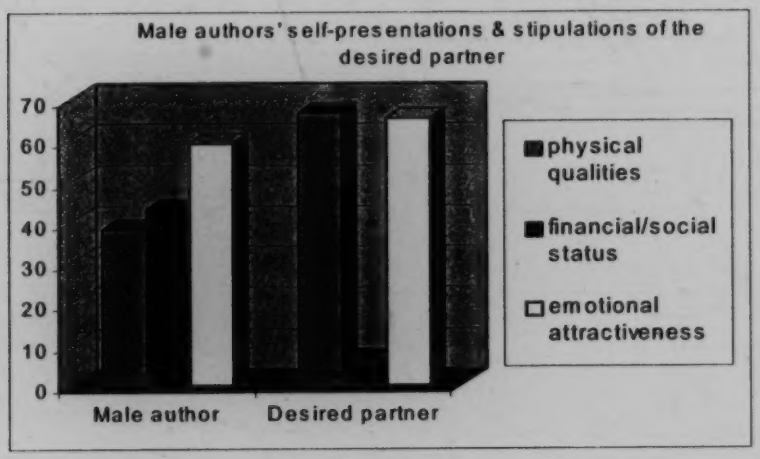
Graph 20a. *Female partner's stipulation break-down*



As results demonstrate, the Ukrainian male authors tend to bid both for the female partner's emotional attractiveness (65.5 %) and physical qualities (66.7 %). This suggests that many male authors, in fact, are looking for a partner who is attractive inside and out. The low percentage of the stipulations of the partner's financial/social status (6.5 %) indicates a low degree of interest in this type of information as it is not perceived as a requirement to initiate serious relations on the part of the males.

Graph 20b combines the patterns of offering information on the self and stipulating the desired female partner by the male authors.

Graph 20b. Males' offers and stipulations of the female partner



In their offers of the self, the males tend to provide, firstly, their emotional attractiveness, followed by financial/social status. In their stipulations of the desired partner, the male authors tend to request, firstly, the partner's physical qualities, closely followed by her emotional attractiveness.

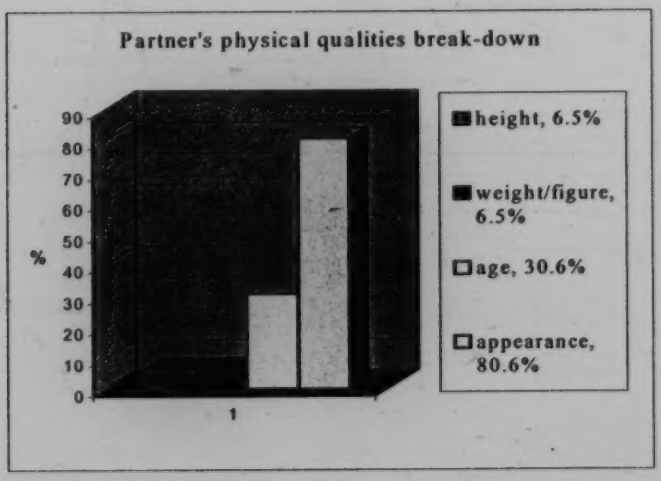
(iii) This subsection examines aspects of the female partner's physical qualities, which are the most requested, and thus, the most desired by the male authors. The category of physical qualities includes the following subcategories: height, weight/figure, age, and appearance. Consider the results in Table 21:

Table 21. Female partner's physical qualities stipulated by males, %

	Height, %	Weight/Figure, %	Age, %	Appearance, %
Male authors	6.5	6.5	30.6	80.6

As seen from Table 21, the male authors show a clear tendency to stipulate, first of all, the female partner's appearance (80.6 %), followed by her age (30.6 %), then her height (6.5 %), and weight/figure (6.5 %). The results presented here support earlier studies of personal ads, in which similar findings have been reported (Bereczkei, Voros, Gal, and Bernath, 1997; Cicerello and Sheehan, 1995; Davis 1990; Deaux and Hanna, 1984; Greenlees and McGrew, 1994; Koestner and Wheeler, 1988; Lance 1998; Smith, Waldorf, and Trembath, 1990; Thiessen, Young, and Burroughs, 1993). It suggests that cross-culturally and over time, male authors tend to stipulate their ideal partner's appearance foremost[20].

Graph 21a. *Female partner's physical qualities stipulated by males*

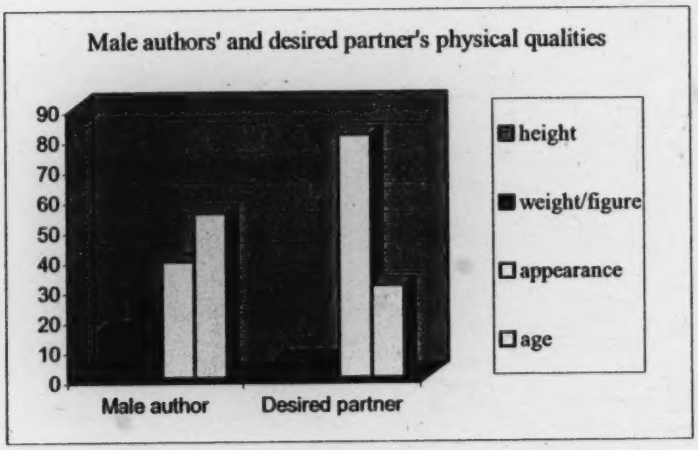


[20] Scholars of Social Studies have attempted to explain these results from the point of social exchange and evolutionary theories. Those, who side with social exchange theories, view personal ads as a complex, heterogeneous marketing exchange (for example, since males, in most cases, are in possession of social capital, they tend to seek physical beauty in return for their power resources). Those, who support evolutionary theories, suggest that, for their part, men tend to seek mates with the potential to reproduce, and characteristics, which correlate with reproductive success, such as beauty and youth.

With respect to some strategies employed by the male authors in their stipulations of the desired partner and in their self-presentations, the following tendencies are of interest. First, if the attributes from the subcategory of appearance and those from the subcategories of height, weight, and age are examined and compared, it is seen that those attributes belonging to the former subcategory are of descriptive nature, that is, they lack numeric precision. Those attributes, which belong to the latter subcategories, are of numeric nature (see the discussion below and a complete list of such attributes in Appendix 1). As noted earlier, in their self-descriptions, the male authors tend to produce precise statements, in which numbers are a significant part (for instance, *zrist 179 cm* 'height 179 cm'; *vaha 75 kh* 'weight 75 kg'; *45 rokiv* '45 year old'; *zakinchyv universytet u 1999 rotsi* 'graduated from the university in the year of 1999'; *vzhe 8 rokiv iak pratsiuiu vykladachem v universyteti* ' it's been 8 years since I began working as a professor at the university', and others). However, as soon as the male authors begin to stipulate the female partner's physical qualities, they switch from using numeric attributes to descriptive techniques. That is, in their stipulations of the ideal partner, they tend to use more abstract/descriptive attributes such as *harna* 'beautiful', *krasyva* 'pretty', *vrodlyva* 'attractive', *tenditna* 'elegant, delicate', *sympatychna* 'good-looking', *pryiemnoi zovnishnosti* 'of nice appearance', *strunka* 'slim', *nepovna* 'not heavy', *nevysoka* 'not tall', and others.

Graph 21b combines the pattern of offers of physical qualities by the male authors and their stipulations of the partner's physical qualities as found in the males' postings:

Graph 21b. *Males' offers and stipulations of the female partner's physical qualities*



In their own self-portrait, the male authors offer their age foremost. When stipulating the desired partner, they tend to focus on the female's appearance. It results in the use of more descriptive attributes when the male authors stipulate physical qualities of the perceived female addressee. However, in their offers of the self, the male authors tend to employ more numeric elements and expressions.

(iv) The category of the desired partner's financial/social status is found only in 6.5% of all the males' stipulations of the ideal partner. Nevertheless, an analysis of its constituents, i.e. occupation, education, and economic status and assets, needs to

be carried out in order to determine which of the three aspects the male authors stipulate the most. The analysis yields an interesting pattern, presented in Table 22:

Table 22. *Female partner's financial/social status stipulated by males, %*

	Occupation/Job, %	Economic status and assets, %	Education, %
Male authors	0.0	16.6	83.4

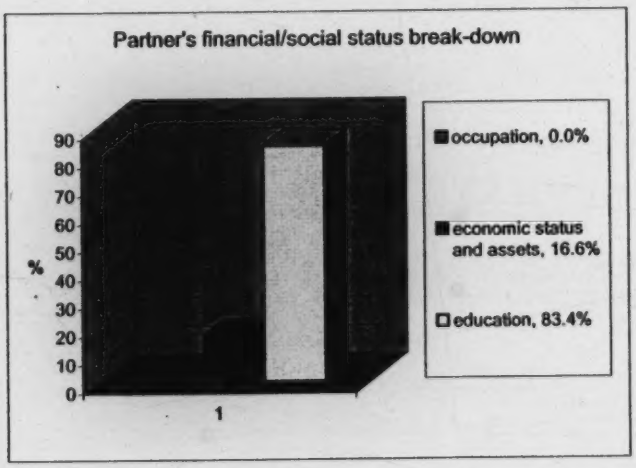
As seen from Table 22, the male authors place the main emphasis on the partner's educational level; moreover, in all the instances, it is higher education, such as University and Institute levels. The results suggest that if a male ad placer seeks a female partner with higher education, he may want to indicate covertly, first of all, that he himself has higher education (as opposed to college or high school). Secondly, for him it appears to be important that his future partner is to share with him similar values, such as knowledge, erudition, learning experience and skills.

Although Ukraine has gone comparatively far in providing higher education to women, hardships of economic situation in modern Ukrainian society keep many of them from committing themselves to an academic career and life. This is especially true for females from rural regions and small towns. Therefore, by choosing to set the educational register in their stipulations of the desired partner, the male authors aim at achieving two goals. They stipulate not only the female partner's educational level, but, perhaps, also her socio-regional background (ex., urban vs. rural).

The percentage of those male authors, who specify the desired partner's educational status, however, is low when compared to the entire pool of the collected data. This fact suggests that for males, generally, the educational register is not important.

The rate of those male authors who in their stipulations of the desired partner choose to present information on economic status and assets is considerably low (16.6 %). These results may reflect a shift in males' consciousness. Namely, men, who include information on economic status and assets of their desired partner, may represent a new type of masculinity in post-Soviet Ukrainian society, which contrasts with the traditional notion of a male only as a 'family provider' and 'bread winner'.

Graph 22a. *Female partner's financial/social status stipulated by males*



The stipulations of the female partner's occupation/job is not mentioned in any posting from the present pool of personal ads scoring 0.0 %. This suggests that

the male authors consider this factor either unimportant or unrealistic in today's society. It should be noted that Ukrainian women, surrounded by multiple economic and social hardships, often take up jobs and pursue occupations not according to their training, education and interests, but rather to what is available at the time. Thus, the desired female's occupation/job may be misleading and does not necessarily reflect her personality, interests and values[21].

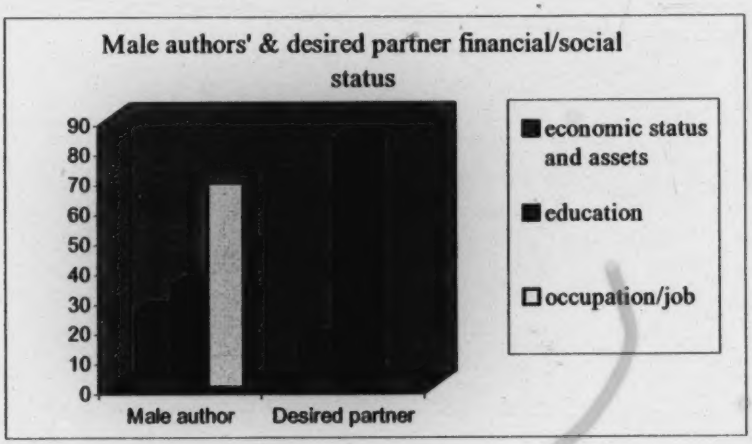
Interestingly, within the category of financial/social status in their self-presentations, the male authors offer, first of all, information on their occupation/job (68.6 %), followed by education (34.3 %), and economic status and assets (25.7 %) (cf. 3.2.1 (iv)). In their stipulations of the desired female partner, they focus on her educational level, but not on her occupation/job, as discussed above.

At this point, it is difficult to determine whether this tendency is connected to a peculiar nature of the personal ad genre; that is, the male authors may perceive it inappropriate, unnecessary or irrelevant to stipulate female's occupation/job in such context. It may, however, be connected to broader contexts of cultural and socio-economic situation in modern Ukrainian society. For instance, since traditionally the male population in Ukrainian society has been perceived as 'bread-winners' and 'family providers', the males may continue to reinforce these traditional gender roles in their personal ads. A similar reasoning may hold true for females in Ukraine to whom the role of 'Berehynia' (a woman who is to take care of home and family, rather than to work outside) has been attributed. As data show, this traditional role is

[21] In their study of Canadian personal ads, Zhou and Abdullah (1995) reported that 6.1 % of males and 18.3 % of females stipulated their partner's occupation/job.

supported not only in the political and mass media discourses, but is also articulated in the males' stipulations of the desired female partner in the context of their postings. However, those male authors who do stipulate the female partner's [higher] education as one of the desired characteristics/qualities consider this factor significant in creating a family and raising children in an intellectual environment. Graph 22b combines the patterns of offers of the financial/social status and stipulations of the desired partner's financial/social status, as displayed in the male personal advertisements:

Graph 22b. *Male' offers and stipulations of the female partner's financial/social status*



(v) The goal of the following subsection is to determine which elements of emotional attractiveness are the most desired by the male authors in the significant other. First of all, the ratio of how many males choose to stipulate the desired partner's emotional attractiveness, and how many of them do not include this information in their postings is determined. The ratio results in 65.6 % of the postings that contain stipulations of the female's emotional attractiveness, and 34.4 % of the postings that have no mentioning of it. That is, approximately two out of three males perceive the female partner's emotional attractiveness to be significant in terms of establishing serious relationships in the future. Secondly, only those postings in which male authors stipulate the female's emotional attractiveness (65.6%), are taken into consideration and analyzed in this subsection. The following constituent subcategories are studied: personal traits only, interpersonal traits only, both personal and interpersonal traits, more personal traits, and more interpersonal traits. Results are presented in Table 23a:

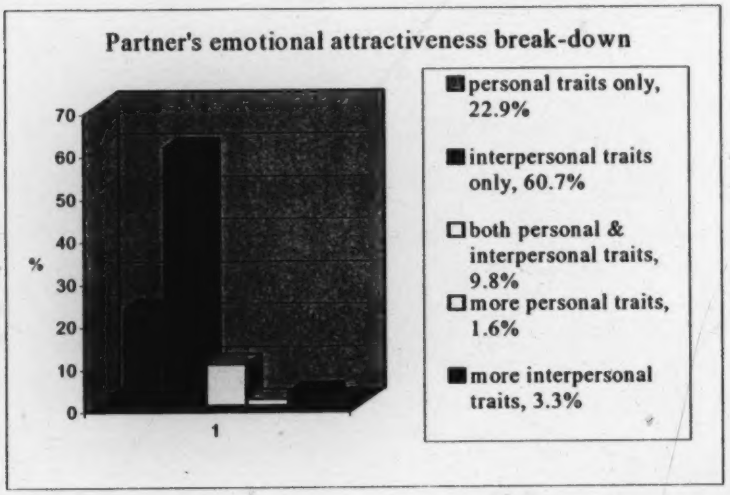
Table 23a. *Female partner's emotional attractiveness stipulated by males, %*

	Personal traits only, %	Interpersonal traits only, %	Both personal traits & interpersonal traits, %	More personal traits, %	More interpersonal traits, %
Male authors	22.9	60.7	9.8	1.6	3.3

The data in Table 23a point to a clear tendency among the male authors to emphasize the female partner's interpersonal traits (60.7 %), rather than her personal

traits (22.9 %). That is, in their stipulations of the desired partner's emotional attractiveness, the males have in mind an image of the ideal partner, whose emotional attractiveness is to be directed toward the male author.

Graph 23a. *Female partner's emotional attractiveness stipulated by males*

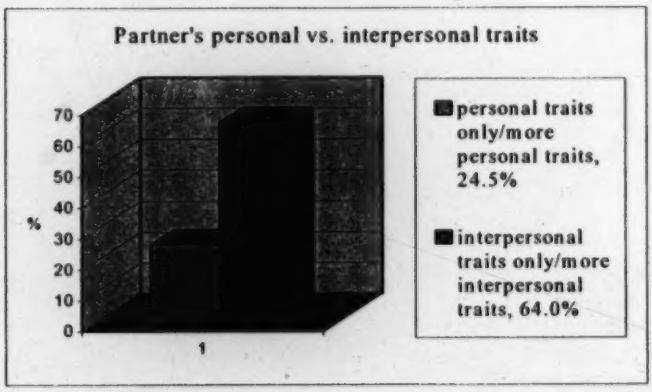


In order to confirm the above findings, the subcategory *'Personal traits only'* is combined with the subcategory *'More personal traits'* and the subcategory *'Interpersonal traits only'* is combined with the subcategory *'More interpersonal traits'*. The subcategory *'Both personal and interpersonal traits equally'* is excluded from the analysis since it carries equal proportions of both personal and interpersonal traits. Consider the results presented in Table 23b and Graph 23b:

Table 23b. *Female partner's personal vs. interpersonal traits, %*

	Personal traits only / More personal traits, %	Interpersonal traits only / More interpersonal traits, %
Male authors	24.5	64.0

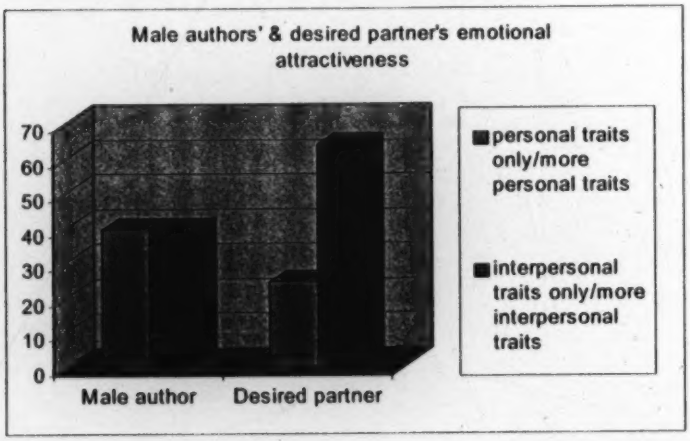
Graph 23b. *Female partner's personal vs. interpersonal traits*



As Table 23b and Graph 23b illustrate, the male authors search for, and thus, include the attributes of interpersonal traits desired in a female partner. These traits clearly dominate over personal traits of emotional attractiveness.

Graph 23c combines patterns of offers of their own and stipulations of the desired partner's emotional attractiveness found in the male postings.

Graph 23c. *Males' offers and stipulations of the female partner's emotional attractiveness*



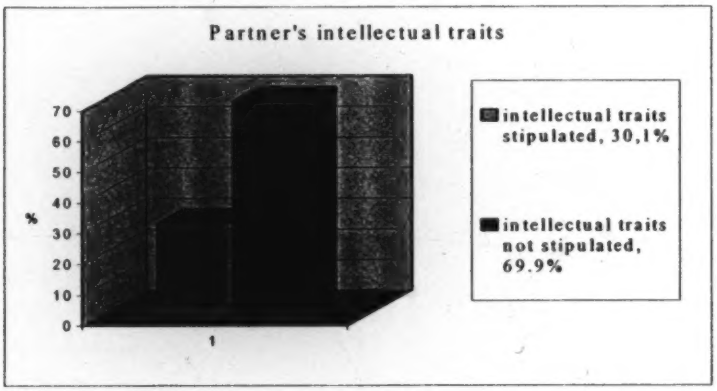
As results in graph 23c indicate, the male authors show no preference in offering their personal (39.6 %) vs. interpersonal (39.6 %) traits, while they stipulate the desired female partner's interpersonal traits more prevalently.

(vi) Last but not least, the males' stipulations of the partner's intellectual traits are examined. The analysis yields the following results: 30.1% of the male authors choose to include this type of information in the body of their postings, while 69.9% consider it to be irrelevant or less important in the context of personal ads. Consider Table 24 and Graph 24a:

Table 24. *Female partner's intellectual qualities stipulated by males, %*

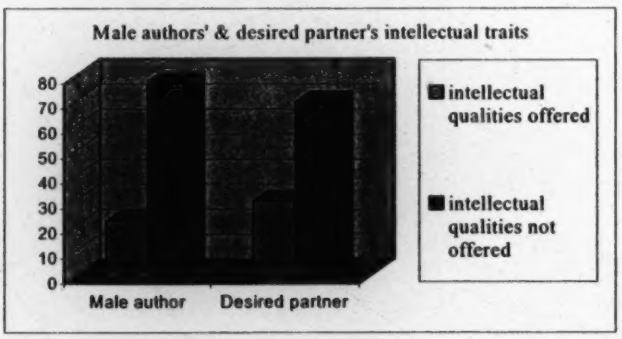
	Partner's intellectual qualities stipulated, %	Partner's intellectual qualities not stipulated, %
Male authors	30.1	69.9

Graph 24a. *Female partner's intellectual qualities stipulated by males*



When patterns of the males' offers of their own intellectual qualities are compared with stipulations of the desired partner's intellectual qualities, it is seen that the male authors tend to stipulate the female partner's intellectual traits more often (30.1 %), rather than to offer their own intellectual qualities (22.2 %). Overall, however, the male authors prefer neither to offer their intellectual qualities to the perceived addressee (77.8 %), nor to stipulate the female's intellectual traits (69.9 %). Consider the results presented in Graph 24b:

Graph 24b. *Males' offers and stipulations of the female partner's intellectual qualities*



The male authors display the following tendencies in their stipulations of the desired partner: the category of the partner's physical qualities, in particular the attributes of appearance, is shown to be favoured the most; however, the category of the partner's emotional attractiveness closely follows the category of physical qualities; within the category of the partner's emotional attractiveness, the preference is placed on interpersonal traits; the desired partner's education is requested the most within the category of financial/social status.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

4.0 General discussion

The primary goal of the study was to examine personal advertisements, posted by Ukrainian young men and women on the Internet, and to explore the main tendencies within the process of shaping and enacting gender roles as displayed in the male and female postings. One of the main considerations was to provide possible explanations of the findings, taking into account the peculiar nature of modern Ukrainian society, as well as the joint effects of the current socio-cultural and economic situation in the country. The chief interest in analyzing the genre of personal advertisements was to study the larger issues of gender identity and the effects of socio-cultural dominance on the construction of both individual and group identities, which personal ads reveal. As Davidson (1990) suggests, personal advertisements convey not just the meanings that people attach to their sexuality, but also the meanings they attach to their age, their socioeconomic class, their culture, and their race (cited in Jones 2000: 36).

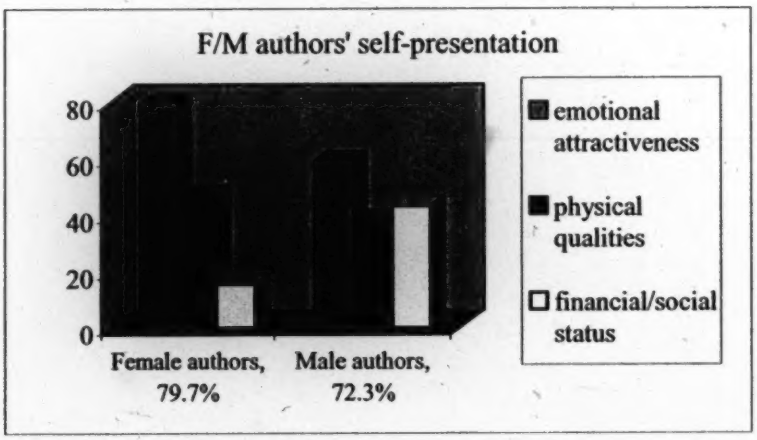
The collected samples of personal advertisements were analyzed. Aspects of gender identity, which males and females offer to or request from the perceived addressee were discussed. The main assumption was that both males and females include only that information, which they perceive to be most important about the self and about the desired partner. This study aimed at combining a close content analysis of the ads with a broader sociolinguistic and socio-cultural perspectives.

The findings are consistent with those reported in earlier studies on personal ads. Specifically, mature and more occupationally established men, on the one hand, and younger, less financially secure women, on the other, look for each other. Such findings reinforce traditional gender roles of men as bread-winners and women as homemakers. However, the present study also yields results, which are specific to Ukrainian personal advertisements. Specifically, in Ukrainian ads both males and females display a considerable degree of emotional attractiveness in describing the self and the desired partner. In the Ukrainian context, love, mutual affection, and personal and interpersonal character traits are the most treasured criteria in selecting a long-term partner.

The analysis in Chapter 3 provides a set of tendencies in both offers and stipulations as they are displayed in the female and male advertisements. First, the self-presentations of the male and female authors were discussed. Second, their stipulations of the desired partner were considered.

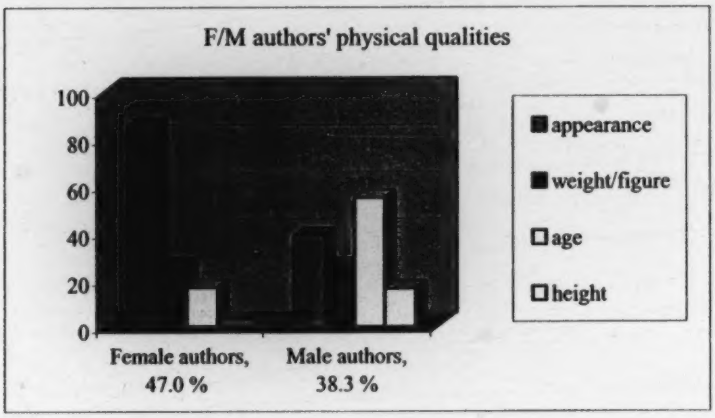
Self-presentation was offered by both females (79.7 %) and males (72.3 %) with females leading in this respect. The authors of both genders emphasized their own emotional attractiveness the most, followed by the offers of their physical qualities in the females' postings, and their financial/social status in the males' postings. Consider Graph 25:

Graph 25. *Females' and males' self-presentation break-down*



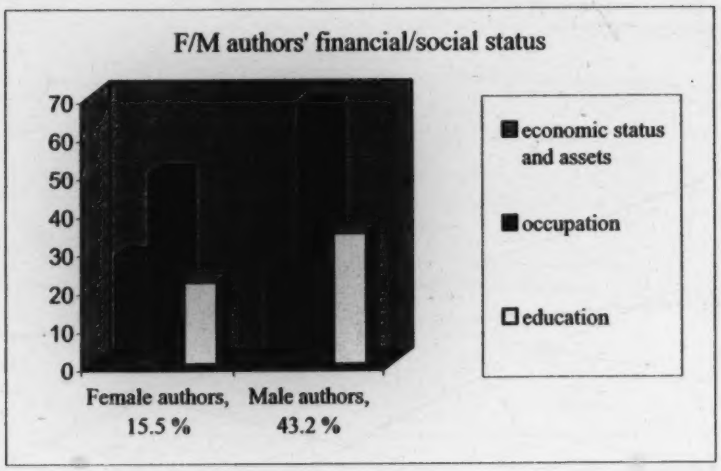
When each of the three categories (emotional attractiveness, physical qualities, and financial/social status) were considered separately, patterns of offers made by the females and males within each of the mentioned categories were observed. Graph 26 provides a break-down of the females' and males' offers of their physical qualities. As demonstrated, the female authors favour their own appearance in self-presentations, while the male authors, although displaying a more balanced break-down of physical qualities overall, tend to favour the subcategory of age.

Graph 26. Females' and males' physical qualities



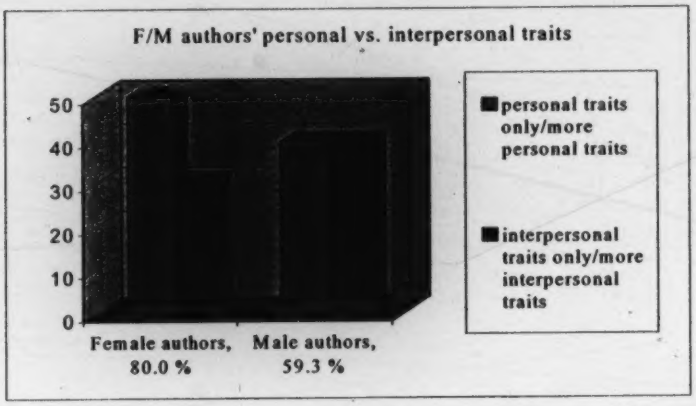
The following Graph 27 displays patterns of offering one's own financial/social status to the perceived addressee. In general, the male authors tend to offer information on their financial/social status more often (43.2 %) than the female authors (15.5 %). The ratio in the present pool of advertisements resulted in approximately 3:1, meaning that the males included attributes of their financial/social status three times more often when compared to the females' postings. Noteworthy is the fact that, in the majority of cases, both the males and females preferred to include their occupation/job. This fact may reflect and echo the market economy, which Ukraine has begun to adopt and implement after a long period of hegemony of Soviet power and ideology. In the analyzed context, one's own occupation/job may reveal an individual's identity, life style, values, and beliefs. Consider Graph 27:

Graph 27. Females' and males' financial/social status



As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, both females and males favour emotional attractiveness the most. The female authors offer their emotional attractiveness more often (80.0 %), than the males (59.3 %). Important to note is that the authors of both genders display a divergent tendency. The females favour personal traits while offering information on the self, whereas the males display no clear preference toward either personal or interpersonal traits in their self-presentations. Consider the break-down of emotional attractiveness, presented in Graph 28:

Graph 28. Females' and males' personal vs. interpersonal traits

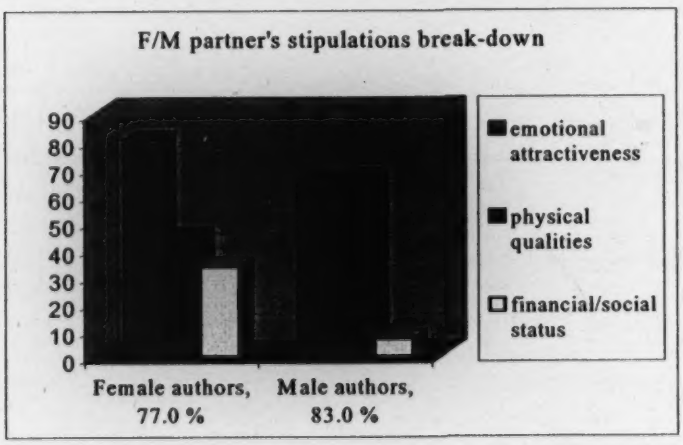


Results of the present study suggest that the females place greater emphasis on their personal traits, and echo Stavytska's findings (2003), in which she discusses the phenomenon of '*women's loneliness*'. According to her study, this phenomenon is linked, first of all, with insufficient communication, without which, "a woman's life acquires the features of prison or desert" (Stavytska 2003). This suggests that females emphasize their own 'I' and not 'You'.

The balance between personal and interpersonal traits provided by males may be connected to the idea that male authors seem to be aware of the fact that perceived female addressees tend to place the most emphasis on the male partner's emotional attractiveness. The male authors may also be unsure as to which kind of emotional attractiveness is the most desired by females. Therefore, they offer both kinds of emotional attractiveness about the self.

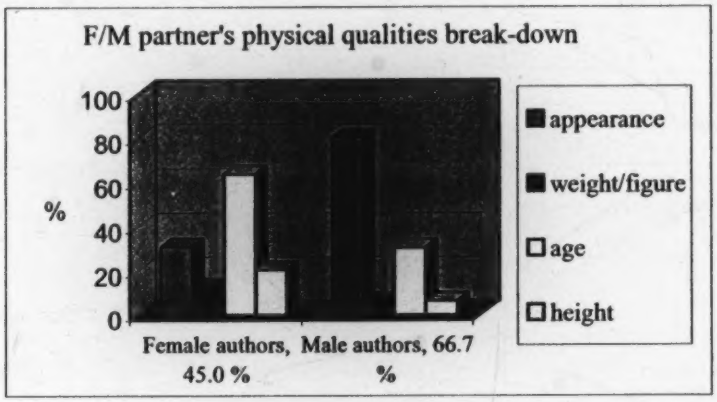
The analysis of stipulations of the desired partner as displayed in the females' and males' postings also yielded interesting results. The findings indicated that both the female and male authors stipulated the desired partner. The males displayed a higher percentage of their stipulations (83.0 %) in comparison to the females (77.0 %). The patterns of the females' and males' stipulations of the desired partner were divergent to a degree. The female authors were shown to search for emotional attractiveness in the male partner, which was followed by his physical qualities, and then financial/social status. The male authors expressed desire for both physical qualities and emotional attractiveness in the female partner. For males, the factor of female partner's financial/social status proved insignificant. These results are recapitulated in Graph 29:

Graph 29. *Females' and males' stipulations of the desired partner break-down*



The following Graph 30 illustrates results within the category of physical qualities stipulated by the females and males with respect to the desired partner.

Graph 30. *Females' and males' stipulation of the desired partner's physical qualities*

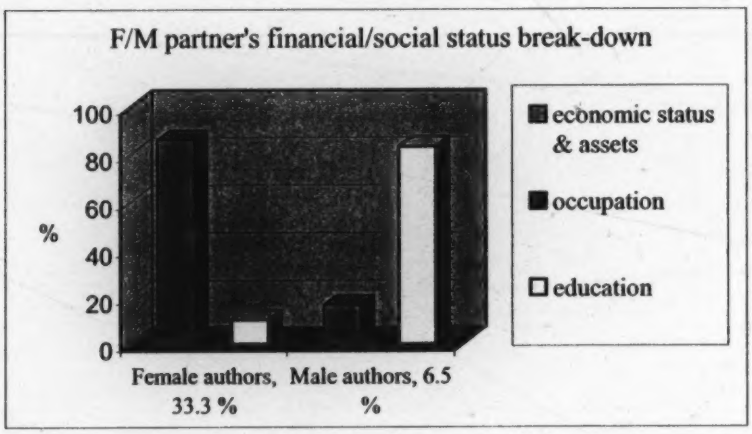


These results indicate that physical characteristics of the desired partner perceived to be the most important to the male authors: 66.7 % of males chose to include physical attributes in their initial postings. Moreover, the greatest emphasis was placed on the partner's general/composite appearance rather than on aspects of age, height or weight.

With respect to the female authors, they, overall, displayed a lower percentage (45.0 %) of stipulations of the partner's physical qualities. In postings by females, the subcategory of age dominated. This strategy serves not only as an indicator of the male partner's physical qualities, but may be connected to his financial/social status covertly. That is, a male is supposed to achieve a certain social

status by a certain age. This leads to the results obtained regarding the partner's financial/social status stipulated in the males' and females' advertisements. Consider the findings presented in Graph 31:

Graph 31. *Females' and males' stipulation of the desired partner's financial/social status*

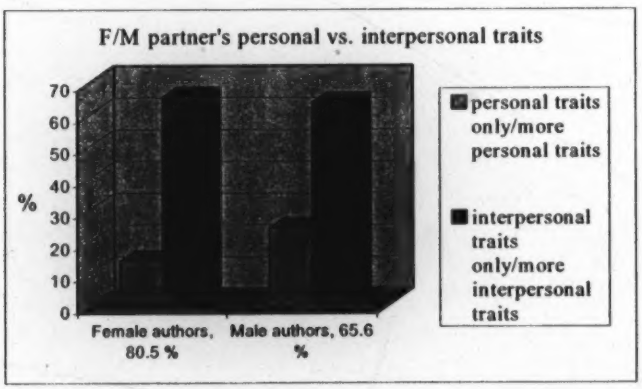


The ratio of the stipulations of the desired partner's financial/social status by the female and male authors resulted in 4:1 (cf. Graph 31); that is, the females stipulate this factor four times more (33.3 %) than the males (6.5 %). With respect to this ratio, I can suggest that Ukrainian women, as a social class, are less economically and financially secure in general. Therefore, they are looking for partners, who are in good financial/social standing. This may explain the domination of the subcategory of economic status and assets within the category of partner's financial/social status, as displayed in the female postings.

The male authors stipulate the desired partner's financial/social status the least; this may be due to the fact that males are aware of difficulties which Ukrainian females encounter in the economic world. Therefore, in their initial postings, the male authors choose not to stipulate the factor of financial/social status overtly. As demonstrated in the graph above, the subcategory of education leads in the males' advertisements, suggesting strong desire on a part of a male to find an intelligent and educated female partner.

The following Graph 32 illustrates patterns of stipulations of the desired partner's emotional attractiveness, as displayed in the female and male postings. Overall, the female authors tend to include attributes to stipulate the partner's emotional attractiveness more often (80.5 %) when compared to the males' postings (65.6 %). However, the authors of both genders display a convergent pattern in their stipulations. Namely, the female and male authors search for a partner, who possesses interpersonal traits of emotional attractiveness (cf. Graph 32):

Graph 32. *Females' and males' stipulation of the desired partner's personal vs. interpersonal traits*



Since interpersonal traits have their focus on 'You' (cf. Appendix 1), both the males and females show an interest in finding an ideal partner, who would possess and, thus, be able to display these traits toward the author him/herself.

4.1 Conclusion

The present study of Ukrainian personal advertisements is a pilot inquiry into the areas of language, gender and identity including interaction of these categories with socio-cultural and economic aspects of modern Ukrainian society. The project made an attempt to explore gender identity and gender roles as they are shaped and enacted by means of language within the courting context. In particular, the study examined offers of the self and stipulations of the desired partner in the male and female initial postings. Their content analysis revealed and supported the idea, expressed by Fairclough (1992, 1993), that language use as a social practice is both shaped and shapes social identities [in this case, gender identity], social relations, systems of knowledge and belief (cited in Jones 2000: 38). The study also took into consideration the idea, suggested in Nedashkivska's article (2002a) that there is "a need to move away from studying only binary, male-female, opposition, [and that] it is important to concentrate not only on differences, but also on similarities" (Nedashkivska 2002a: 117).

In the course of the study, three major categories of gender identity and roles were identified: traditional, Westernized, and post-Soviet (Note that there is no clear-cut borders between them, and in certain instances, their features overlap):

- **Traditional** in which males are bread-winners and family-providers and females are 'Berehynias' (Protectoress) and care-takers of the home and family. These traditional gender roles were displayed in females' expectations for the desired male partner to be in a certain financial/social standing and able to provide for the family (either expressed overtly/directly or, in most instances, covertly/indirectly via conjoined categories and subcategories, such as partner's age, intellectual traits, and education). With respect to males' expectations for the desired partner, males expressed their desires for a female with certain physical qualities (appearance) and emotional attractiveness (interpersonal traits). The former secures healthy/sound offspring, while the latter secures a female long-term partner with certain interpersonal traits focusing on 'You', that is, on the male author himself. At the same time, high expectations of both females' and males' physical qualities are reinforced by the mass-media and Western influences, which have been dictating certain beauty standards. This leads to the second type of gender identity, identified in the context of personal ads.

- **Westernized** in which females are beauties, on the one hand, and are successful women, on the other. These characteristics are expressed in the females' offers of information on their physical qualities, in which the subcategory of appearance dominates, and in their offers of information on their social standing, in particular information on their occupation/job, followed by economic status and assets. Moreover, females' physical qualities may also be perceived as one of avenues for advancement in society. With respect to males, this type of gender identity is expressed in tendencies to articulate first and foremost their occupation/job, followed by education within the category of males' financial/social standing. This demonstrates a gradual shift in modern Ukrainian society toward a market economy under which both genders are theoretically given equal rights and possibilities for social development and standing with respect to education and work. In addition, males also displayed a relatively high percentage of articulations of their own physical qualities, perhaps due to the influence of modern mass-media portrayal of men.

- **Post-Soviet/Transitory** in which females offer their emotional attractiveness to the perceived male addressee emphasizing first and foremost their personal traits focusing on 'I'. In her study, Stavytska (2003) discusses the phenomenon of post-Soviet women's loneliness, which has risen from unstable social and economic situations, full of hardships in particular for Ukrainian females. In light of this, the male ad placers are aware of this fact, and, thus, showed a low

percentage of their stipulations of the desired female partner's financial/social status. Moreover, females expressed their desires and high expectations for males' emotional attractiveness, in particular, for interpersonal traits focusing on 'you', that is, on a female author. Interestingly, males equally offered both their personal and interpersonal traits to their perceived female addressees.

Although three categories of gender identity have been established, several questions are left untouched and the analysis, as well as the data, are by no means exhaustive. It is evident that the analyzed advertisement sample does not have a large national representation, and the advertisers represent only a small segment of individuals who seek potential partners of the opposite sex through personal advertising. The results, therefore, do not permit a great degree of generalization beyond the advertisement sample studied.

In conclusion, the personal advertisement is a highly interactive text. On the one hand, it contains much in terms of the personal investment of the individual advertiser, and on the other hand, his or her hopes, wishes and desires for the ideal partner. The linguistic expression of these categories is highly influenced by socio-historical norms and practices, traditional believes and values, as well as stereotypes and roles as they are presented in the mass media and widely articulated in the socio-political discourse. The Ukrainian personal advertisements bear traces of the traditional gender roles, but also display new traces introduced from the West which echo current socio-politic transformations of Ukrainian society.

Bibliography

Ahejeva, V. and Oksamytna S. eds. (2001). *Gender i Kul'tura.* Kyiv: Fakt.

Arel, D. (1993). "Language and the Politics of Ethnicity: The Case of Ukraine." Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.

Babenko, O. (2004). "*Personal Ads and Gender Identity in Modern Ukrainian Society.*" Paper presented at the MLCS Graduate Conference '*From Pen to Innovation*', University of Alberta, March 2004.

Bailey, J., Kim, P., Hills, A, and Linsenmeier, J. (1997). "Butch, Femme, or Straight Acting? Partner Preferences of Gay Men and Lesbians." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 76: 960-73.

Baker, M. (1982). "Finding Partners in the Newspaper: Sex Differences in Personal Advertising." *Atlantis* 7(2): 137-146.

Basyljev, V. (2000). "Brachnoe Ob'javlenie: Opyt Introspektivnogo Analiza." In A. Kirilina ed.*Gender kak intriga poznaniia,* 108-136.

Bem, S. (1981). "Gender Role Schema: A Cognitive Account of Sex Typing." Psychological Review 88: 354-64.

Bem, S. (1993). *The Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual Inequality.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Bilaniuk, L (1997a). "Matching Guises and Mapping Language Ideologies in Ukraine." Proceedings of SALSA IV. *Texas Linguistic Forum* 37: 298–310. (Ukrainian version in *Movoznavstvo* 4–5 [2000]: 44–51.)

_____(1997b). "Speaking of S*urzhyk*: Ideologies and Mixed Languages." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 21: 93–117.

_____(1998a). "The Politics of Language and Identity in Ukraine." Dissertation, University of Michigan. University Microfilms International.

_____(1998b). "Purity and Power: The Geography of Language Ideology in Ukraine. *Michigan Discussions in Anthropology* 13: 165–89.

_____(2003). "Gender, Language Attitudes and Language Status in Ukraine." *Language in Society* 32(1): 47-78.

Bodine, A. (1975). "Sex Differentiation in Language." In Thorne B. and N. Henley eds. *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominence* 130-51. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Bollig, R., Stein, P. and McKenry, P. (1984). "The Self-advertisement Approach to Dating: Male-Female Differences." *Family Relations* 33(4): 587-592.

Brown, P. (1980). "How and Why Women are More Polite: Some Evidence from a Mayan Community." In S. McConnell-Ginet, R. Borker, and N. Furmjan eds. *Women and Language and Literature and Society* 111-49. New York: Praeger.

Cameron, C., Oskamp, S., and Sparks, W. (1977). "Courtship American Style: Newspaper Ads." *Family Coordinator* 26: 27-30.

Cameron, D. (1985). "False Dichotomies: Grammar and Sexual Polarity". In Cameron D. ed. *Feminism and Linguistic Theory* 57-71. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

_____. (1998). "Gender, Language, and Discourse: a Review Essay." Signs 1: 945-973.

Coates, J. (1998). *Language and Gender: A Reader.* London: Routledge.

Coupland, J. (2000). "Past the 'Perfect Kind of Age?' Styling Selves and Relationships in Over-50s Dating Advertisements." *Journal of Communication,* summer: 9-30.

Davis, S. (1990). "Men as Success Objects and Women as Sex Objects: A Study of Personal Advertisements." *Sex Roles* 23(1/2): 43-50.

Davidson, A. (1991). "Looking for Love in the Age of AIDS: the Language of Gay Personals, 1978-1988." *Journal of Sex Research* 28(1): 125-137.

Dmytrieva, Maria. (2001). "Gendernye issledovaniia v sravnitel'nom iazykoznanii: otsenochnaia leksika kak fragment iazykovoi kartiny." *Gendernye issledovaniia* 5: 255-61.

Deaux, K. and Hanna, R. (1984). "Courtship in the Personal Column: the Influence of Gender and Sexual Orientation". *Sex Roles* 11: 363-375.

Denysiuk, I. (1993). *Amazonky na Polissi.* Lutsk: Nadstyr`ia.

Doojse, B, Rojhan, K., and Fischer, A. (1999). "Partner Preferences as a Function of Gender, Age, Political Affiliation and Level of Education." *Sex Roles* 40: 45-60.

Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (1992a). "Communities of Practice: Where Language, Gender, and Power all Live." In K.Hall, M. Bucholtz, and B. Moonwomon eds. *Locating Power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley Women and Language Conference* 89-99. Berkeley, CA: Women and Language Group.

Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (1992b). "Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-based practice." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 461-490.

Edelsky, C. (1976). "The Acquisition of Communication Competencies: Recognition of Linguistic Correlates of Sex Roles." Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development 22: 47-59.

Edelsky, C. ([1983] 1993). "Who's Got the Floor?" In D. Tannen ed. *Gender and Conversational Interaction.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Epel, E., Spanakos, A., Brownwell, K., and Kasl-Godley, J. (1996). "Body Shape Ideals Across Gender, Sexual Orientation, Socioeconomic Status, Race, and Age in Personal Advertisements". *International Journal of Eating Disorders* 19: 265-273.

Erfurt, J. (1985). "Partnerwunsch und Textproduktion: Zur Struktur der Internationalitat in Heiratsanzeigen." *Zeit fuer Phonetik, Sprachwiss und Kommunikforsh* 38(3): 309-20.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change.* Cambridge: Polity.

_____ (1993). "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse: the Universities." *Discourse and Society* 4(2): 133-168.

Feingold, A. (1992). "Sex Differences in the Effects of Similarity and Attractiveness on Opposite-sex Attraction." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 12: 357-67.

Ford, C. and Beach, F. (1951). *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Row.

Freimuth, M. and Hornstein, G. (1982). "A Critical Examination of the Concept of Gender." Sex Roles 8: 515-32.

Gal, S. (1992). "Language, Gender, and Power: An Anthropological View." In K. Hall, M. Bucholtz, and B. Moonwomon eds. *Locating Power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley Women and Language Conference* 153-61. Berkeley, CA: Women and Language Group.

Gal, S. (1994). "Between Speech and Silence: the Problematics of Research on Language and Gender." In C. Roman, S. Juhasz, and C. Miller eds. *The Women and Language Debate: a Sourcebook* 407-31. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Garner, D., Garfinkel, P., Schwartz, D. and Thompson, M. (1980). "Cultural Expectation of Thinness in Women." *Psychological Reports* 47: 483-491.

Gee, J. (1999). *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. London: Routledge.

Gender Analysis of Ukrainian Society. (1999).United Nations Development Program. Kyiv.

Giddens, A. (1991a). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Giddens, A. (1991b). Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the Late Modern Age. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Gil-Burmann, Pelaez and Sanchez (2002). "Mate Choice Differences According to Sex and Age." *Sex Roles* 39: 372-98.

Goodwin, R. (1991). "Sex Differences Among Partner Preferences: Are the Sexes Very Similar?" *Sex Roles* 29: 501-13.

Haas, A. (1979). "The Acquisition of Genderlect." *Annals of New York Academy of Science (Language, Sex, and Gender)* 327: 101-113.

Harrison, A. and Saeed, L. (1977). "Let's Make a Deal: An Analysis of Revelation and Stipulations in Lonely Hearts Advertisements." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 35: 257-264.

Hatala, M. and Prehodka, J. (1996). "Content Analysis of Gay Male and Lesbian Personal Advertisements". *Psychological Reports* 78: 371-374.

Hatfield, E. and Sprecher, S. (1986). *Mirror, Mirror...The Importance of Looks in Everyday Life*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Hirshman, E. (1987). "People as Products: Analysis of a Complex Marketing Exchange." *Journal of Marketing* 51(1): 98-108.

Humphreys, P. and Berger, J. (1981). "Theoretical Consequences of the Status Characteristics Formulation." *American Journal of Sociology* 86(5): 953-83.

Ivanic, R. (1998). *Writing an Identity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Jaworski, A. and Coupland, N., eds. (1999). *The Discourse Reader*. London: Routledge.

Johnson, S. (1997). "Theorizing Language and Masculinity: a Feminist Perspective." In S. Johnson and U. Meinhot eds. *Language and Masculinity* 8-26. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jones, R. (2000). "Potato Seeking Rice: Language, Culture, and Identity in Gay Personal Ads in Hong Kong." *Int'l. J.Soc. Lang.* 143: 33-61.

Kirilina, A.(1999). Gender: Lingvisticheskie Aspekty. Moskva: Institut Sotsiologii RAN.

Kirilina, A. ed. (2000). *Gender kak Intriga Poznaniia.* Moskva: Rudomino.

Kis', O. (2002). "Modeli Construiuvannia Hendernoi Identychnosti Zhinky v Suchasnii Ukraini". http://www.ji-magazine.lviv.ua, 37-59.

Koestner, R. and Wheeler, L. (1988). "Self-presentation in Personal Advertisements: The Influence of Implicit Notions of Attraction and Role Expectations." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 5: 149-160.

Kramarae, C. (1990). "Changing the Compexion of Gender in Language Research." In H. Giles and W. Robinson eds. *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology* 345-60. New York: John Wiley.

Kramer, C., Thorne, B., and Henley, N. (1978). "Review Essay: Perspectives on Language and Communication." Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society 3: 638-51.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lakoff, R. (1975). *Language and Woman's Place.* New York: Harper and Row.

Laner, M. (1979a). "Media Mating II: 'Personals' Advertisements of Lesbian Women." *Journal of Homosexuality* 4: 41-61.

Laner, M. (1979b). "Growing Older Female: Heterosexual and Homosexual." *Journal of Homosexuality* 4: 267-75.

Lee, J. (1976). "Forbidden Colors of Love: Patterns of Gay Love and Gay Liberation." *Journal of Homosexuality* 1: 401-418.

Lee, J. (1978). "Meeting Males by Mail." In E. Barrett and L. Crew eds. *The Gay Academic,* 415-27. Palm Springs, CA: ETC.

Le Vasseur, G., de Beauplan, S. (1993 [1660]). *A Description of Ukraine, which Consists of Several Provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, Lying Between the Borders of Moscvy, and the Frontiers of Transylvania, together with their Customs, Ways of Living, and of Making War, by the Sieur de Beauplan.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

van Leeuwen-Turnovcova, J., K. Wullenweber, U. Doleschal and F. Schnindler eds. (2002). Gender-Forshung in Der Slawistik. Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderland 55, Wien.

Litosseliti, L. and Sunderland, J., eds. (2002). *Gender Identity and Discourse Analysis.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Lumby, M. (1978). "Men Who Advertise for Sex." *Journal of Homosexuality* 4: 63-71.

Lynn, M. and Bolig, R. (1985). "Personal Advertisements: Sources of Data about Relationships." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 2: 377-383.

Lynn, M. and Shurgot, B. (1984). "Responses to lonely hearts advertisements: Effects of reported physical attractiveness, physique, and coloration". *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 10: 349-357.

Matthews, T. (1999). "A World-Wide Web-based Research Project." *The Teaching of Psychology* 26: 227-30.

Mills, M. ed. (1999). *Slavic Gender Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Montini, T. and Ovrebro, B. (1990). "Personal Relationship Ads: An Informal Balancing Act." *Sociological Perspectives* 33(3): 327-39.

Murty, R. and Rao, R. (1984). "A Sociological Analysis of the Content in Matrimonial Advertisements in South India." *Indian Journal of Social Work* 44(4): 377-86.

Nedashkivska, A. (2002a). "Communicating with the Press: Genderlects in Ukrainian."*Canadian Slavonic Papers* 44 (1-2): 97-124.

_____. (2002b). "The Language of Polarized Femininities in Contemporary Ukraine." *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 27 (1-2): 295-319.

Nell, K. and Ashton, N. (1997). "Gender, Self-esteem and Perception of Own Attractiveness." *Perception and Motor Skills* 83: 1106-1106.

Okami, P., Shakelford, T.K. (2001). "Human Sex Differences in Sexual Psychology and Behavior." *Annual Review of Sex Research* 12: 186-241.

Osypchuk, A. (2004). "Henderne Doslidzennia Shliubnykh Oholoshen." *Vidnokola: Chyslo # 2* (Internet Magazine of Kyiv Institute of Gender Studies). http://www.vidnokola.kiev.ua/Magazine/N2/Num2.htm#Article7.

Pavlychko, S. (1996). "Feminism in Post-communist Ukrainian Society." In R. Marsh, ed., *Women in Russia and Ukraine*, 305–14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Peres, Y. and Meivar, H. (1986). "Self-presentation during Courtship: A Content Analysis of Classified Advertisements in Israel." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 17(1): 19-32.

Petrenko, O., Isajev, E. and Petrenko, D.(1999). "Mova Cholovikiv i Zhinok jak Odynytsia Sotsiolinhvistychnoho Doslidzhennia." *Movoznavstvo* 1:64–70.

Pischikova, K. (2002). "Gender Differences and Intertextuality: Comparative Analysis of Strategic Questioning for Ukrainian and American Debates." In van Leeuwen-Turnovcova, J., K. Wullenweber, U. Doleschal and F. Schnindler eds. Gender-Forshung in Der Slawistik 145-52. Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderland 55, Wien.

Polivyi, J., Garner, D., and Garfinkel, P. (1986). "Causes and Consequences of the Current Preference for Thin Female Physiques." In C. Herman, M. Zanna, and E. Higgins eds. *Physical Appearance, Stigma, and Social Behavior*, 89-112. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associations, Inc.

Polyuha, M. (2005). "Ukrainian Internet Identity." WJGR 12(1): 82-91.

Pomazan, O. (1999). "Henderni Problemy i Mass-media." In *Hendernyi Analiz Ukrains'koho Suspil'stva,* 91-109. Kyiv: Zlatohraf.

Rajecki, D., Bledsoe, S., and Rasmussen, J. (1991). "Successful Personal Ads: Gender Differences and Similarities in Offers, Stipulations, and Outcomes". Basic and Applied Social Psychology 12(4): 457-469.

Riabchuk, M. (2003). *Dvi Ukrainy: Real`ni Merezhi, Virtual`ni viiny.* Kyiv: Krytyka.

_____. (2000a). *Dylemy Ukrains`koho Fausta: Hromadians`ke Suspil`stvo i*

'Rozbudova Derzhavy'. Kyiv: Krytyka.

_____. (2000b). *Vid Malorosii do Ukrainy: Paradoksy Zapizniloho Natsiitvorennia.* Kyiv: Krytyka.

Rubchak, M. (1996). "Christian virgin or pagan goddess: Feminism versus the Eternally Feminine in Ukraine." In Rosalind Marsh, ed., *Women in Russia and Ukraine* 315–30. Cambridge: Cam-bridge University Press.

_____. (2001). "In Search of a Model: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness in Ukraine and Russia". *The European Journal of Women's Studies* 8(2): 149-160.

Rubin, D. (1995). Introduction: Composing Social Identity. In D. Rubin ed. *Composing Social Identity in Written Language* 1-30. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Serbens'ka, O. ed. (1994). *Anty-Surzhyk*. Lviv: Vydavnytstvo Svit.

Shalom, C. (1997). "That Great Supermarket of Desire: Attributes of the Desired Other in Personal Advertisements." In K. Harvey and C. Shalom eds. *Language and Desire: Encoding Sex Romance and Intimacy,* 186-203.

Siever, M. (1994). "Sexual Orientation and Gender as Factors in Socioculturally Acquired Vulnerability to Body Dissatisfaction and Eating Disorders." *Journal of Counseling and Clinical Psychology* 62: 252-60.

Silverstein, B., Perdue, L., Peterson, B., and Kelly, E. (1986). "The Role of Mass Media in Promoting a Thin Standard of Bodily Attractiveness for Women." *Sex Roles* 14: 519-532.

Sitton, S. and Rippee, E. (1986). "Women still Want Marriage: Sex Differences in Lonely Hearts Advertisements." *Psychological Reports* 58: 257-258.

Smith, C. and Stillman, S. (2002). "What do Women Want? The Effect of Gender and Sexual Orientation on the Desirability of Physical Attributes in the Personal Ads of Women." *Sex Roles* 46: 337-342.

Smith, S., Waldorf, V., and Trembath, D. (1990). "Single White Man Looking for Thin ,Very Attractive..." *Sex Roles* 23: 675-85.

Smoliar, L. (2002). "Zhenskoie Dvizhenie v Kontekste Sotsial'noi Istorii Ukrainy." In van Leeuwen-Turnovcova J., K. Wullenweber, U. Doleschal and F. Schindler eds. *Gender-Forschung in Der Slavistik* 401-18. Wiener Slawistiescher Almanach, Sonderland 55, Wien.

Stavytska, L. (2003). *Mova i stat`*. Krytyka, 6.

Spender, D. (1984). *Man Made Language*. London: Routledge.

Strassberg, D. and Holty, S. (2003). "An Experimental Study of Women's Internet Personal Ads". *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 32 (3): 253-260.

Sukovata, B. (2002). "Hendernyi Analiz Reklamy". Sotsiolohia: Teoriia, Metody, Marketynh 2: 176-182.

Tannen, D. (1990). *You Just Don't Understand.* London: Virgo.

Taran, L. (2001). "Henderni Problemy i Zasoby Masovoi Informatsii." In V. Ahejeva and S. Oksamytna eds. *Hender i Kul'tura,* 151-160. Kyiv: Fakt.

Trudgill, P. (1974). "Language and Sex." In *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction* 78-99. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Vovk, Kh. (1995). *Studiji ukrains`koji etnohrapiji ta antropolohiji.* Kyiv: Mystetstvo.

Willis, F. and Carlson, R. (1993). "Singles Ads: Gender, Social Class, and Time." *Sex Roles* 29(5/6): 387-404.

Winn, L., and Rubin, D. (2001). "Enacting Gender Identity in Written Discourse: Responding to Gender Role Bidding in Personal Ads." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 20(4): 393-418.

Wodak, R. ed. (1997). *Gender and Discourse*. London: SAGE Publication.

Yokoyama, O. (1999). "Russian Genderlects and Referential Expression." *Language in Society* 28: 401-29.

Zhou, N., and Abdulah, Z. (1995). "Canadian Matchmaker Advertisements: The More Things Change, The More They Remain the Same." *International Journal of Advertising* 14: 334-48.

Zhurzhenko, T. (2001a). "(Anti)National Feminisms, Post-Soviet Gender Studies: Women's Voices of Transition and Nation-Building in Ukraine." *Oesterreichische Osthefte* 43: 503-24.

_____. (2001b) "Free market ideology and new women's identities in post-socialist Ukraine". *The European Journal of Women's Studies* 8: 29-49.

Appendix 1

#	*Category*	*Subcategories*
1	***Physical qualities***	**Age:** explicit number (ex., 27); *takoho zh viku* 'same'; range (ex., 22-29); *starshyi* 'older'; *molodshyi* 'younger'; *molodyi* 'young'; *z rozumnoiu riznytseiu u vitsi* 'with a reasonable age difference'. **Height**: explicit/specific number (ex., 178 cm); *vysokyi* 'tall'; serednioho zrostu 'of middle height'; nevysokyi 'not tall'. **Weight/Figure**: explicit number (ex., 63 kg); *Po moii vazi tse ne skazhesh* 'one can't say it from my weight', *z harnymy formamy* 'with good shapes; *strunkyi* 'slim'; *khudyi* 'thin'; *sportyvnyi* 'sporty'; *syl`nyi* 'strong'; *tenditnyi* 'tender'. **Appearance:** eye color, hair color, *sympatychnyi* 'good-looking, handsome'; *krasyvyi* 'beautiful'; *charuiuchyi, charivnyi, sharmovyi* 'charming, charmful'; *fizychno zdorovyi* 'physically healthy'; vrodlyvyi 'beautiful'; *nepohanyi na vyhliad* 'not of bad looks'; *zvychainoi zovnishnosti* 'of usual looks'; *efektnyi* 'effective, spectacular'; pryiemnoi zovnishnosti 'of pleasant looks'; *harna iak vyshnia v tsvitu* 'beautiful as a cherry-tree in blossom'.
2	***Financial/ Social status***	**Financial/material status:** *material'no zabezpechenyi* 'financially secured'; *bez materialnykh problem* 'without financial problems'; *prynts bez konia* 'a prince without a horse'; *tsinuiu stabilnist* '[I] value stability'; *samostiinyi, nezalezhnyi* 'independent'; *bez zhytlovykh problem* 'without housing problems'; *zabezpechenyi* 'well-to-do'; *finansovo zabezpechenyi* 'financially secured'; *perspektyvnyi* 'with secure future'; *mriiu pro stabilnist* '[I] dream about stability'; *malozabezpechenykh prokhannia ne turbuvaty* '[if you are] not financially secured, do not trouble me'; *respektabel`nyi* 'respectable'; *tverdo stoit` na nohakh* '[who] has both feet on the ground'. **Occupation / Job / Field and/or Place of Employment:** *pratsiuiu vykladachem v universyteti* '[I] work as a professor at the university'; *za spetsial'nistiu filoloh, vykladach ukrains`koi movy i literatury* 'majoring in philology, a teacher of Ukrainian language and literature'; *pratsiuiu maistrom manikiura i pedikiura* '[I] work as an esthetician'; pratsiuiu v universyteti metodystom '[I] work at the university as a teaching assistant/secretary'; *shukaiu cholovika, iakyi zrobyv kar`ieru v biznesi* '[I am] looking for a man who has made a career in business'; *pratsiuiu za spetsial`nistiu* '[I] work according to my major field of studies'; *ia vykladach sotsial`nykh nauk* 'I am a professor of social studies'; *shukaiu cholovika, v*

		iakoho na pershomu misti – robota 'I am looking for a man who puts his job in the first place/before everything'; *pratsiuiu trenerom* '[I] work as a coach'; *ia profesiinyi futbolist* 'I am a professional soccer player'; *chasnyi pidpryiemets'* 'a freelance businessman'; *pratsiuiu na istorychnomu fakul`teti* '[I] work at the History Department'; *likar-stomatoloh* 'a dentist'; pratsiuiu v banku '[I] work in a bank'; *shukaiu cholovika, iakyi zarobliaie kapital vlasnym rozumom* 'I am looking for a man who earns for living by putting his brain to work'; *pratsiuiu iurystom v komertsiinii strukturi* '[I] work as a lawyer in a non-governmental organization'; *menedzher-reklamist* 'advertising manager'; *zaimaiusia komp`iuternym biznesom i dystrybutsiieiu* '[I] am occupied in the field of computer business and distribution'; *pratsiuiu v komp`iuternii firmi* 'work in a computer firm'; *iakyi profesiino zaimaietsia sportom* 'who is a professional sportsman'; *iakyi pratsiuie v bukhhalters`kii sferi* 'who works in the field of accounting'; *pratsiuiu v informahenstvi v Kyievi* '[I] work in an information agency in Kyiv'; *prohramer* 'a programmer'; *iakyi pratsiuie u derzhavnii ustanovi* 'who works for the government'; *iakyi maie prestyzhnu robotu* 'who has a prestigious job'; *pratsiuiu iurystom i vykladachem* '[I] work as a lawyer and a professor'; *pratsiuiu derzhavnym sluzhbovtsem* '[I] work as a governmental employee'; *pokyshcho pratsiuiu, ale zhodom xochu zdobuty osvitu* 'Right now [I] work, though [want] to get education some time'; *pratsiuiu u L`vovi v sferi bezpeky biznesu* '[I] work in Lviv in the field of business security'; *shukaiu liudynu mystetstva* '[I am] looking for a person [whose field of occupation is] the Arts'; *domohospodynia* 'a house-wife'; *maiu vlasnyi biznes* '[I] have my own business'; *iakyi pratsiuie v humanitarnii sferi* 'who works in the field of the Humanities'; *robota – nauka* 'occupation – science'. **Education:** Name of an educational establishment; *vyshcha osvita* 'post-secondary education'; *aspirant* '(post-)graduate student'; *maiu ekonomichnu osvitu* 'with Economics degree', and other examples of specific majors/specializations/field of studies/departments'.
3	***Emotional Attractive-ness***	**Personal traits:** *serioznyi* 'serious'; *muzhnii* 'courageous'; *romantychnyi* 'romantic'; *zhyttieradisnyi* 'cheerful'; *vrivnovazhenyi* 'well-balanced'; *enerhiinyi* 'energetic'; *motornyi* 'agile'; *nezakompleksovanyi* 'without complexes'; *optymistychnyi, optymist* 'optimistic, an optimist'; *spokiinyi* 'calm'; *nelehkovazhnyi* 'not light-minded'; *pratsiovytyi* 'industrious'; *vpevnenyi v sobi* 'confident'; *akuratnyi* 'tidy'; *khaziainovytyi* 'practical, thrifty'; *prymkhlyvyi* 'capricious'; *skromnyi* 'modest'; *prostyi* 'simple'; *veselyi* 'merry'; *nesmilyvyi* 'timid'; *movchaznyi* 'taciturn'.

		Interpersonal traits: *soromʹiazlyvyi* 'shy'; *nadiinyi* 'reliable'; *nizhnyi* 'tender'; *lahidnyi* 'gentle'; *poriadnyi* 'decent'; *taktovnyi* 'tactful'; *chuttievyi, chuinyi* 'sensuous'; *dobryi* 'kind'; *liubliachyi* 'loving'; *virnyi* 'loyal'; *shchyryi* 'sincere'; *chesnyi* 'honest'; *spravedlyvyi* 'just'; *vidvertyi* 'sincere'; *vidpovidalʹnyi* 'responsible'; *dobrozychlyvyi* 'benevolent, well-wishing'; *komunikabelʹnyi* 'sociable'; *dobre stavytsia do ditei* '[who] likes kids'; *povazhaie zhinok* '[who] respects women'; *vichlyvyi* 'polite'; *laskavyi* 'affectionate'; *pryvitnyi* 'friendly'; *povazhlyvyi* 'respecting'; *tovaryskyi* 'sociable'; *rozumiiuchyi* 'understanding'; *neehoistychnyi* 'unselfish'; *netsynichnyi* 'not a cynic'; *z dobrym sertsem* 'with kind heart'; *tsinuiu vzaiemorozuminnia* '[I] value mutual respect'*; slukhnianyi* 'obedient'.
4	***Intellectual qualities***	*Intelihentnyi* 'intelligent'; *tsilespriamovanyi* 'goal-oriented'; *dyplomatychnyi* 'diplomatic'; *rozumnyi* 'clever'; *dotepnyi* 'wittly'; *osvidchenyi* 'educated'; *tvorchyi* 'creative'; *kmitlyvyi* 'witty'; *povazhaiu profesionalism* '[I]value professionalism'*; tsinuiu rozum* '[I] value wisdom'; *tsikavyi spivrozmovnyk* 'an interesting conversation partner'; *z zhyttievym dosvidom* 'with life experience'; *mudryi* 'wise'; *intelektuaʹlno rozvynutyi* 'intellectually developed'; *rozumiie prykoly* '[who] understands witty things, jokes'; *tsikava osoba* 'an interesting person'; *rozsudlyvyi* 'considerate'; *nachytanyi* 'well-rounded'; *shyrokyi kruhozir* '[with] a broad outlook'; *riznobichno rozvynutyi* 'versatile-developed'; *erudovanyi* 'erudite'.